THE

H STORY

OF

HINDOSTAN,

RCM THE DEATH OF AKBAR,

TO THE COMPLETE SETTLEMENT OF THE EMPIRE UNDER

AURUNGZEBE.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

I. A DISSERTATION on the Origin and Nature of DESPOTISM in HINDOSTAN.

II. An ENQUIRY into the STATE of BENGAL; With a Plan for reftor that Kingdom to its former Profperity and Splendor.

By ALEXANDER DOW, Efq;

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE COMPANY'S SERVICE.

LONDON:

PRIN ED FOR T. BECKET AND P. A. DE HONDT IN THE STRAND, BO KSELLERS TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCE OF WALES AND BISHOP OF OSNABRUGH.

MDCCLXXII.

THE

HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

3d Volume

TO THE

KING,

THIS VOLUME

IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST DUTIFUL

MOST HUMBLE

AND MOST DEVOTED

SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

ALEXANDER DOW.

A

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF DESPOTISM

IN

HINDOSTAN.

The climate and ſoil of India,

GOVERNMENT derives its form from accident; its ſpirit and genius from the inherent manners of the people. The languor occaſioned by the hot climate of India, inclines the native to indolence and eaſe; and he thinks the evils of deſpotiſm leſs ſevere than the labour of being free. Tranquillity is the chief object of his deſires. His happineſs conſiſts in a mere abſence of miſery; and oppreſſion muſt degenerate into a folly, which defeats its own ends before he calls it by the name of injuſtice. Theſe phlegmatic ſentiments the Indian

carries

carries into his future ſtate. He thinks it a mode of being, in which paſſion is loſt, and every faculty of the ſoul ſuſpended, except the conſciouſneſs of exiſtence.

favourable to deſpotiſm.

Other motives of paſſive obedience join iſſue with the love of eaſe. The ſun, which enervates his body, produces for him, in a manner ſpontaneouſly, the various fruits of the earth. He finds ſubſiſtence without much toil; he requires little covering but the ſhade. The chill blaſt of winter is unknown; the ſeaſons are only marked by an arbitrary number of nights and days. Property being in ſome meaſure unneceſſary, becomes of little value; and men ſubmit, without reſiſtance, to violations of right, which may hurt but cannot deſtroy them. Their religious inſtitutions incline them to peace and ſubmiſſion. The vulgar live with the auſterity of philoſophers, as well as with the abſtinence of devotees. Averſe themſelves to the commiſſion of crimes, they reſent no injuries from others; and their low diet cools their temper to a degree which paſſion cannot inflame.

Encourage conqueſt.

The fertility of the ſoil, which in other kingdoms conſtitutes the great proſperity of the natives, was a ſource of misfortune to the Indians. Notwithſtanding their abſtinence and indolence, they were in ſome degree induſtrious, and, in want of but few things themſelves,

their own arts, and the natural productions of their country, rendered them opulent. Wealth accumulated, in the progreſs of time, upon their hands; and they became objects of depredation to the fierce nations of the northern Aſia. The facility of incurſion, among a peaceable and harmleſs race of men, encouraged conqueſt. The victors, inſtead of carrying the ſpoil into their native country, ſat down where it had been found; and added the miniſtration of the conquered to the other enjoyments of wealth.

Aſia always the ſeat of ſlavery.

Aſia, the ſeat of the greateſt empires, has been always the nurſe of the moſt abject ſlaves. The mountains of Perſia have not been able to ſtop the progreſs of the tide of deſpotiſm; neither has it been frozen in its courſe through the plains of the northern Tartary, by the chill air of the North. But though deſpotiſm governs Aſia, it appears in different countries under various forms. The Arabs of the deſart alone poſſeſs liberty, on account of the ſterility of their ſoil. Independent of revolution and change, they ſee, with unconcern, empires falling and riſing around. They remain unconquered by arms, by luxury, by corruption; they alter not their language, they adhere to their cuſtoms and manners, they retain their dreſs. Their whole property conſiſts of flocks and herds, of their

tents and arms. They annually make a ſmall and voluntary preſent to the chief of their blood. They revolt againſt oppreſſion; and they are free by neceſſity, which they miſtake for choice. When men are obliged to wander for ſubſiſtance, deſpotiſm knows not where to find its ſlaves.

Nature of the Tartar

The Tartar, though a wanderer like the Arab, was never equally free. A violent ariſtocracy always prevailed in the country of the former, except in a few ſhort periods, when the fortune of one eſtabliſhed a tranſient deſpotiſm over the whole. There man is armed againſt man, chief againſt chief, and tribe againſt tribe. War is no longer a particular profeſſion, but the conſtant occupation of all. Men are more afraid of men in the ſolitudes of Tartary, than of beaſts of prey. The traveller moves with great circumſpection, and hears an enemy in every blaſt of wind. When he ſees a tract in the ſand, he croſſes it, and begins to draw his ſword. Though the barrenneſs of the country has prevented the growth or introduction of luxury, avarice prevails, and he that has the leaſt to loſe is the moſt independent, where life is invariably riſqued for a trifling ſpoil. Robbery acquires the more honourable name of Conqueſt; and the aſſaſſin is dignified with the title of Warrior.

In

In the mountains which ſeparate Perſia from India, the nature and face of the country have formed a different ſpecies of ſociety. Every valley contains a community ſubject to a prince, whoſe deſpotiſm is tempered, by an idea eſtabliſhed among his people, that he is the chief of their blood, as well as their ſovereign. They obey him without reluctance, as they derive credit to their family from his greatneſs. They attend him in his wars, with the attachment which children have for a parent; and his government, though ſevere, partakes more of the rigid diſcipline of a general, than of the caprice of a deſpot. Rude as the face of their country, and fierce and wild as the ſtorms which cover their mountains, they love incurſion and depredation, and delight in plunder and in battle. United firmly to their friends in war, to their enemies faithleſs and cruel. They place juſtice in force, and conceal treachery under the name of addreſs. Such are the Afgans or Patans, who conquered India and held it for ages. and Afgan ariſtocracies.

The deſpotiſm which the Patans eſtabliſhed in their conqueſts, partook of the violence of their national character at home. Their government was oppreſſive through pride, and tyrannical from paſſion rather than from avarice. Reinforced by ſucceſſive migrations from the mountains of Afganiſtân, they retained their native Deſpotiſm of the Patans different

ſpirit in the midſt of the luxuries of India. When the monarch became voluptuous and degenerate, they ſupplied his place with ſome hardy chieftain from the north, who communicated his own vigour to the great machine of the ſtate. The empire was ſupported by a ſucceſſion of abilities, rather than by an hereditary ſucceſſion of princes; and it was the countrymen, and not the poſterity of the firſt conquerors, who continued the dominion of the Patâns over India.

from that of the Moguls.

The conqueſt of India by the family of Timur, proceeded from the abilities of one man, and not from the effort of a nation. Baber himſelf was a ſtranger in the country in which he reigned, before he penetrated beyond the Indus. His troops conſiſted of ſoldiers of fortune, from various countries; his officers were men who owed their rank to merit, not to ſucceſſion. The religion of Mahommed, which they in common profeſſed, and their obedience to one leader, were the only ties which united the conquerors upon their arrival; and they were ſoon diſſipated in the extenſive dominions which their arms ſubdued. The character of the prince went down on the current of government; and the mild diſpoſition of his ſucceſſors contributed to confirm the humane deſpotiſm which he had introduced into his conqueſts.

A continued

A continued influx of ſtrangers from the northern Aſia, became neceſſary for the ſupport of princes who profeſſed a different faith with their ſubjects, in the vaſt empire of India. The army was recruited with ſoldiers from different nations; the court was occupied by nobles from various kingdoms. The latter were followers of the Mahommedan religion. In the regulations and ſpirit of the Coran, they loſt their primary and characteriſtical ideas upon government; and the whole ſyſtem was formed and enlivened by the limited principles which Mahommed promulgated in the deſarts of Arabia. Cauſe of that difference,

The faith of Mahommed is peculiarly calculated for deſpotiſm; and it is one of the greateſt cauſes which muſt fix for ever the duration of that ſpecies of government in the Eaſt. The legiſlator furniſhes a proof of this poſition in his own conduct. He derived his ſucceſs from the ſword, more than from his eloquence and addreſs. The tyranny which he eſtabliſhed was of the moſt extenſive kind. He enſlaved the mind as well as the body. The abrupt argument of the ſword brought conviction, when perſuaſion and deluſion failed. He effected a revolution and change in the human mind, as well as in ſtates and empires; and the ambitious will continue to ſupport a ſyſtem which lays its foundation from their religion.

on

on the passive obedience of those whom Fortune has once placed beneath their power.

Despotism

The unlimited power which Mahommedanism gives to every man in his own family, habituates mankind to slavery. Every child is taught, from his infancy, to look upon his father as the absolute disposer of life and death. The number of wives and concubines which the more wealthy and powerful entertain, is a cause of animosity and quarrel, which nothing but a severe and unaccountable power in the master of a family can repress. This private species of despotism is, in miniature, the counterpart of what prevails in the state; and it has the same effect, in reducing all the passions under the dominion of fear. Jealousy itself, that most violent of the feelings of the soul, is curbed within the walls of the haram. The women may pine in secret, but they must clothe their features with cheerfulness when their lord appears. Contumacy is productive of immediate punishment. They are degraded, divorced, chastised, and even sometimes put to death, according to the degree of their crime or obstinacy, or the wrath of the offended husband. No enquiry is made concerning their fate. Their friends may murmur; but the laws provide no redress; for no appeals to public justice issue forth from the haram.

Young

Young men, with their minds moulded to ſubjection, become themſelves maſters of families in the courſe of time. Their power being confined within their own walls, they exerciſe in private, that deſpotiſm which they in public dread. But though they are freed from domeſtic tyranny, they ſtill continue ſlaves. Governors, magiſtrates, and inferior officers, inveſted with the power of the principal deſpot, whoſe will is law to the empire, exerciſe their authority with rigour. The idea of paſſive obedience is carried through every vein of the ſtate. The machine connected in all its parts, by arbitrary ſway, is moved by the active ſpirit of the prince; and the lenity or oppreſſiveneſs of government, in all its departments depends upon the natural diſpoſition of his mind.

of the maſters of families.

The law of compenſation for murder, authoriſed by the Coran, is attended with pernicious effects. It depreſſes the ſpirit of the poor; and encourages the rich in the unmanly paſſion of revenge. The price of blood in India is not the third part of the value of a horſe. The innate principles of juſtice and humanity are weakened, by theſe means; ſecurity is taken from ſociety, as rage may frequently get the better of the love of money. A religion which indulges individuals in a crime, at which the reſt of mankind ſhudder, leaves ample room for the

Law of compenſation for murder.

cruelty of a prince. Accuſtomed to ſit in judgment on criminals, he becomes habituated to death. He miſtakes paſſion for juſtice. His nod is condemnation; men are dragged to execution, with an abruptneſs which prevents fear. The incident has no conſequence, but to impreſs terror on the guilty or ſuſpected; and the ſpectators ſcarcely heed a circumſtance, which its frequency has made them to expect.

Bathing. The frequent bathing inculcated by the Coran, has, by debilitating the body, a great effect on the mind. Habit makes the warm bath a luxury of a bewitching kind. The women ſpend whole days in water; and haſten by it the approach of age. The indolence of the men, which induces them to follow every mode of placid pleaſure, recommends to them a practice which Mahommed has made a tenet of religion. The prohibition of wine is alſo favourable to deſpotiſm. It prevents that free communication of ſentiment which awakens mankind from a torpid indifference to their natural rights. They become cold, timid, cautious, reſerved and intereſted; ſtrangers to thoſe warm paſſions, and that cheerful elevation of mind, which render men in ſome meaſure honeſt and ſincere. In the Eaſt, there are no public places of meeting, no communications of ſentiments, no introduction to private friendſhip. A ſullenneſs, and

a love

a love of retirement prevail, which disunite mankind; and as all associations among men are prevented, the hands of government are strengthened by the very virtue of temperance.

The doctrine of a rigid fate, or absolute predestination, which forms one of the principal tenets of the Mahommedan religion, has a great influence on the character and manners of men. When this opinion is adopted as an article of faith, the necessity of precaution is inculcated in vain. The fatalist begins an action because human nature is incapable of absolute idleness; but when a love of repose invites him, when an obstacle arises before him to thwart his designs, he has no motive for perseverance. He waits for another day, perhaps for another month: he at last trusts the whole to Providence, and makes God the agent in his very crimes. Miscarriage can be no disgrace where success depends not on abilities; and the general who loses a battle through his own pusillanimity, lays the blame upon Providence. Predestination.

The extensive polygamy permitted by the law of Mahommed, has a fatal effect on the minds of his followers; but it has its advantages as well as its defects. The peculiar nature of the climate subjects women to dis- Polygamy.

eaſes, and hurries them forward in a few years to age. One man retains his vigour beyond the common ſucceſſion of three women through their prime; and the law for a multiplicity of wives is neceſſary for the ſupport of the human race. But the cuſtom weakens paternal affection; for as a huſband cannot equally divide his regard among many women, the children of the favourite will be preferred. Even theſe will not be much beloved. The loſs of a child is no misfortune; and the care of preſerving it is leſſened, by the opportunity which the number of his women furniſhes to the father for begetting more. The child himſelf is no ſtranger to this indifference; and he fails in proportion in his duty. Beſides, the jealouſy between mothers in the haram grows into hatred among their ſons. The affection between brothers is annihilated at home; and when they iſſue forth into the world, they carry their animoſities into all the various tranſactions of life.

Concealment of women.

Theſe religious tenets, which are ſo favourable to deſpotiſm, are accompanied with ſingular opinions and cuſtoms, which are abſolute enemies to freedom and independence. The concealment of their women is ſacred among the Mahommedans. Brothers cannot viſit them in private; ſtrangers muſt never ſee them. This exceſſive jealouſy is derived from various cauſes. It

 proceeds

proceeds from religion, which inculcates female modesty; it arises partly from the policy of government; it is derived from the nature of the climate, where continence is a more arduous virtue than in the bleak regions of the north. Honour consists in that which men are most solicitous to secure. The chastity of his wives is a point, without which the Asiatic must not live. The despot encourages the opinion; as the possession of the women of his most powerful subjects is a sufficient pledge for their faith, when absent in expedition and war.

When the governor of a province falls under the suspicion of disaffection for his prince, the first step taken against him, is an order issued for sending his women to court. Even one of his wives, and she too not the best beloved, will bind him to his allegiance. His obedience to this mandate is the true test of his designs. If he instantly obeys, all suspicions vanish; if he hesitates a moment, he is declared a rebel. His affection for the woman is not the pledge of his fidelity; but his honour is, in her person, in the custody of his sovereign. Women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The haram is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians, Its effect

ſians, covered with the blood of a huſband, ſhrink back with confuſion from the ſecret apartments of his wives.

on their manners.

In the ſilence which attends deſpotiſm, every thing is dark and ſolemn. Juſtice itſelf is executed with privacy; and ſometimes a ſolitary gun, fired at midnight from the palace of the deſpot, proclaims the work of death. Men indulge themſelves under the veil of ſecrecy; and rejoice in their good fortune, when their pleaſures can eſcape the eye of their prince. Voluptuouſneſs is, therefore, preferred to luxury. The enjoyment of the company of women is the chief object of life among the great; and when they retire into the ſanctuary of the haram, they forget, in a variety of charms, their precarious ſituation in the ſtate. The neceſſary privacy enhances the indulgence; and the extreme ſenſibility, perhaps, peculiar to the natives of a hot climate, carries pleaſure to an exceſs which unmans the mind. Men are poſſeſſed of ſomething which they are afraid to loſe; and deſpotiſm, which is founded on the principles of fear and indolence, derives ſtability and permanency from the defects and vices of its ſlaves.

Reflections

The ſeeds of deſpotiſm, which the nature of the climate and fertility of the ſoil had ſown in India, were,

as has been obſerved, reared to perfect growth by the Mahommedan faith. When a people have been long ſubjected to arbitrary power, their return to liberty is arduous and almoſt impoſſible. Slavery, by the ſtrength of cuſtom, is blended with human nature; and that undefined ſomething, called Public Virtue, exiſts no more. The ſubject never thinks of reformation; and the prince, who only has it in his power, will introduce no innovations to abridge his own authority. Were even the deſpot poſſeſſed of the enthuſiaſm of public ſpirit, the people would revolt againſt the introduction of freedom; and revert to that form of government, which takes the trouble of regulation from their hands.

The ſimplicity of deſpotiſm recommends it to an indolent and ignorant race of men. Its obvious impartiality, its prompt juſtice, its immediate ſeverity againſt crimes, dazzle the eyes of the ſuperficial, and raiſe in their minds a veneration little ſhort of idolatry for their prince. When he is active and determined in his meaſures, the great machine moves with a velocity which throws vigour into the very extremities of the empire. His violence, and even his caprices, are virtues, where the waters muſt be always agitated to preſerve their freſhneſs; and indolence and irreſolution can be his only

on the nature

only ruinous vices. The firſt indeed may injure the ſtate; but by the latter it muſt be undone. A ſevere prince, by his jealouſy of his own authority, prevents the tyranny of others; and, though fierce and arbitrary in himſelf, the ſubject derives a benefit from his being the ſole deſpot. His rage falls heavy on the dignified ſlaves of his preſence; but the people eſcape his fury in their diſtance from his hand.

of deſpotiſm. The deſpotic form of government is not, however, ſo terrible in its nature, as men born in free countries are apt to imagine. Though no civil regulation can bind the prince, there is one great law, the ideas of mankind with regard to right and wrong, by which he is bound. When he becomes an aſſaſſin, he teaches others to uſe the dagger againſt himſelf; and wanton acts of injuſtice, often repeated, deſtroy by degrees that opinion which is the ſole foundation of his power. In the indifference of his ſubjects for his perſon and government, he becomes liable to the conſpiracies of courtiers, and the ambitious ſchemes of his relations. He may have many ſlaves, but he can have no friends. His perſon is expoſed to injury. A certainty of impunity may arm even cowards againſt him; and thus, by his exceſſive ardour for power, he with his authority loſes his life.

Deſpotiſm

Mild under Baber.

Deſpotiſm appears in its moſt engaging form, under the Imperial houſe of Timur. The uncommon abilities of moſt of the princes, with the mild and humane character of all, rendered Hindoſtan the moſt flouriſhing empire in the world during two complete centuries. The manly and generous temper of Baber permitted not oppreſſion to attend the victories of his ſword. He came with an intention to govern the nations whom he ſubdued; and ſelfiſh motives joined iſſue with humanity in not only ſparing, but protecting the vanquiſhed. His invaſion was no abrupt incurſion for plunder; and he thought the uſual income of the crown a ſufficient reward for his toil. His nobles were gratified with the emoluments of government; and, from diſpoſition, an enemy to uſeleſs pomp and grandeur, he choſe that his treaſury ſhould be gradually filled with the ſurplus of the revenue, than with the property of individuals, whom the fortune of war had placed beneath his power. Awed by his high character, the companions of his victories carried his mildneſs and ſtrict equity through all the departments of government. The tyranny of the family of Lodi was forgotten; and the arts, which had been ſuppreſſed by a violent deſpotiſm, began to rear their heads, under the temperate dominion of Baber.

Humaioon,

Humaioon.

Humaioon, though not equal in abilities to his father, carried all his mild virtues into the throne. He was vigilant and active in the administration of juſtice, he ſecured property by his edicts; and, an enemy to rapacity himſelf, he puniſhed the oppreſſive avarice of his deputies in the provinces. The troubles which diſturbed his reign were the effect of the ambition of others; and his expulſion from the throne was leſs a misfortune to him than to his ſubjects. When he returned with victory, he left the mean paſſion of revenge behind. He puniſhed not his people for his own diſaſters; he ſeemed to forget the paſt, in the proſpect of doing future good. The nations of India felt, by the benefit received from his preſence, how much they had loſt by his abſence. Though worn out under a ſucceſſion of tyrants, during his exile, Hindoſtan began to revive when he re-mounted the throne. His ſudden and unexpected death portended a ſtorm, which was diſſipated by the ſplendid abilities and virtues of his ſon.

Akbar.

Akbar was poſſeſſed of Baber's intrepidity in war, of Humaioon's mildneſs in peace. Bold, manly, and enterprizing, he was an enemy to oppreſſion; and he hated cruelty, as he was a ſtranger to fear. In the more ſplendid buſineſs of the field, he forgot not the arts of peace.

He

He eſtabliſhed, by edict, the right of the ſubject to tranſfer his property without the conſent of the crown, and by ordering a regiſter of the fixed rents of the lands to be kept in the courts of juſtice in every diſtrict, he took from his officers the power of oppreſſing the people. Severe in his juſtice, he never forgave extortion. He promoted juſt complaints againſt the ſervants of the crown, by various proclamations. He encouraged trade, by an exemption of duties through the interior provinces; and by the invariable protection given to merchants of all nations. He regarded neither the religious opinions nor the countries of men: all who entered his dominions were his ſubjects, and they had a right to his juſtice. He iſſued an edict which was afterwards revived by Aurungzêbe, that the rents ſhould not be increaſed upon thoſe who improved their lands, which wiſe regulation encouraged induſtry, and became a ſource of wealth to the ſtate.

Jehangire, though unfit for the field, trod in his father's path in regulating the civil affairs of the ſtate. Impreſſed with a high ſenſe of the abilities of Akbar, he continued all his edicts in force; and he was the invariable protector of the people againſt the rapacity and tyranny of his own officers. In his adminiſtration of juſtice, he was ſcrupulous, ſevere, and exact; and if he Jehangire.

at any time gave a wrong decision, it proceeded from a weakness rather than from a vice of the mind.

Shaw Jehân. His son, Shaw Jehân, was possessed of better parts, and was more attentive than Jehangire to the business of the subject. He was minutely acquainted with the state of the empire, and being free from that caprice and whim which threw a kind of disgrace on the authority of his father, he rendered his people happy by the gravity, justice, and solemnity of his decisions. The empire flourished under his upright and able administration. Oppression was unknown from the officers of the crown, on account of the vigilance of the emperor; and the strict impartiality which he established in the courts of justice, diminished injuries between man and man.

Aurungzêbe. Aurungzêbe, to whom business was amusement, added the most extensive knowledge of the affairs of the empire, to an unremitting application. He made himself minutely acquainted with the revenue paid by every district, with the mode of proceeding in the inferior courts, and even with the character and disposition of the several judges. He ordered the register of the rents to be left open for the inspection of all, that the people might distinguish extortion from the just demands of the crown. He commanded, that men versed in the usages of

of the ſeveral courts, in the precepts of the Coran, and in the regulations eſtabliſhed by edicts, ſhould attend at the public expence, and give their opinion to the poor in matters of litigation. He eſtabliſhed a mode of appeal beyond certain ſums; and he diſgraced judges for an error in judgment, and puniſhed them ſeverely for corruption and partiality. His activity kept the great machine of government in motion through all its members: his penetrating eye followed oppreſſion to its moſt ſecret retreats, and his ſtern juſtice eſtabliſhed tranquillity, and ſecured property over all his extenſive dominions.

When Baber, at the head of his army, took poſſeſſion of the dominions of the Imperial family of Lodi, he continued to the crown the property of all the lands. Theſe being annually rented out to the ſubject, furniſhed thoſe immenſe revenues which ſupported the unequalled ſplendor of his ſucceſſors in the throne. The property of individuals conſiſted, at firſt, of moveables and money only; and the officers of the crown could not even diſpoſe of theſe by will, without the written conſent of the prince. Time, however, wrought a change in things. The poſterity of Baber alienated, for particular ſervices, eſtates from the crown in perpetuity; and theſe deſcended in ſucceſſion by will, or if the pro-

State of land-ed

prietor died inteſtate, by an equal diviſion to his children, according to the law of the Coran. This kind of property was alſo transferable by ſale; and it has been judged, that one third part of the empire was given away by this ſpecies of grants from the crown.

property. These grants, however, were not always a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the violence of the crown. Some of the emperors found themſelves obliged to reſume many eſtates by an edict; and it muſt be confeſſed, that political neceſſity juſtified the meaſure. Princes who contended for the empire were laviſh in their donations; and, had not an act of reſumption ſometimes taken place, the revenue of the crown would, in proceſs of time, have been annihilated. There was, however, a kind of equivalent given to the proprietors; a penſion was ſettled upon themſelves, and their children were received into the ſervice of the government. The wealth of the officers of the crown is, after their death, conſidered as Imperial property; but unleſs it is immenſe, it is never appropriated by the prince; and even in that caſe a proper proviſion is made for the children, and they have, by an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, a right to be employed in ſome of the departments of the ſtate. The women of the deceaſed receive annual penſions according

ing to their rank; and they may either live in widowhood, or make new alliances by marriage.

The Mogul ſyſtem of government admits of no hereditary honours. Every man muſt owe his preferment and rank to himſelf, and to the favour of his prince. High birth, however, was reſpected; and, to a perſon of abilities, it was a great recommendation at the court of princes proud of their own noble origin. The ranks and degrees of nobility were for the moſt part official, excepting thoſe of the military kind. Judges, men of letters, and eminent merchants, have been frequently dignified with titles, and admitted into the circle of the principal nobles in the Imperial preſence. The nobles conſiſted of three orders. The EMIRS, who were the firſt officers of ſtate, and the viceroys of provinces; the CHANS, who held high poſts in the army; and the BAHADURS, who may in ſome meaſure be compared to our knights. The number of which theſe three orders conſiſted was arbitrary, and each of them had peculiar privileges in the empire, and a demand on the reſpect of the undignified part of the ſubjects. Of titles of honour.

The courſe of juſtice ran through the ſame gradations, which the general reaſon of mankind ſeems to have eſtabliſhed in all countries ſubject to regular governments. Form of

ments. The provinces were divided into diſtricts; in each of which a judge, appointed by the emperor, decided in criminal as well as civil affairs. He pronounced judgment on capital offences, but his ſentence was never put in execution without the conſent and warrant of the governor of the province. In diſputes concerning property, there lay an appeal to the ſupreme court, in which the viceroy preſided in perſon. Every province was, in miniature, a copy of the empire. Three principal judges, with high titles of dignity, ſat, with many aſſeſſors, in the capital. They not only decided upon appeals, but ſuits might originate before them. The emperor himſelf, in the preſence of his nobles, preſided almoſt every day in this court, which generally ſat for two hours in the hall of public juſtice.

Juſtice; When the matter appeared clear, the prince, without much heſitation, pronounced judgment; when it was doubtful, witneſſes were examined, and the opinion of the judges aſked on the point of law. Should the ſuit appear intricate, it was referred to the judgment of the court in their own common hall; but the ſubject might appeal from their deciſion to the emperor and his aſſeſſors in the chamber of audience. Theſe courts, both when the monarch was preſent and when he was abſent, were left open to the people. No judgment was ever pro-

nounced ſecretly, except when the power of the delinquent rendered a public trial dangerous to the ſtate.

Council of ſtate.

The great officers of ſtate, by a kind of preſcription, formed a council which anſwers to our cabinet. The emperor aſked their advice upon affairs of moment; he heard their ſentiments, but nothing came ever to a vote. They were his adviſers, but they had no controul on his power. He frequently called to this council men in inferior departments; and when the deliberation concerned any particular province, the nobles beſt acquainted with that part of the empire, were admitted into the cabinet. The offences of the firſt rank of nobility came under the cognizance of this council, as well as other matters of ſtate. They were a kind of jury, who found the matters of fact, and the ſovereign pronounced the ſentence. He might, by his deſpotic power, iſſue out a warrant of death without their advice; but the known opinions of mankind on that ſubject bound him like a law.

Reflections

To theſe great lines of the government of the Moguls, ſome reflections may be joined. Conqueſts made by incurſion, rather than by war, muſt be retained by violence. The ſword, which obtained the empire, ſupported it under the houſe of Timur. Their ſubjects obeyed them

them from neceſſity more than from choice; and the lenity of their adminiſtration aroſe more from the mildneſs of their diſpoſition, than from the ſpirit of their regulations. The deſpotic principles of the Tartars, ingraſted upon the Mahommedan tenets of religion, led to force; and ſeemed to recognize no obedience but that which proceeded from fear. This circumſtance obliged the deſpot to inveſt his deputies in the provinces with a great part of his power; and when they left his capital, they only did not abſolutely riſe from ſubjects into princes.

on the communication

This communication of power, though in ſome meaſure neceſſary to command the people, became dangerous to the prince. The Imperial deputies began to loſe their allegiance in proportion to their diſtance from the throne. The governors became, in ſome meaſure, independent, though they profeſſed obedience to the Imperial edicts. A certain portion of the revenue was remitted to court; and the deputy, in a venal court, found frequently means to retain the favour of his prince, when he diſobeyed his commands. Every idea of loyalty was, towards the decline of the empire, deſtroyed among the people of the diſtant provinces. They heard of an emperor, as the ſuperſtitious hear of a guardian angel, whom they never behold. An indifference for his fate ſucceeded to his want of power. A peaſant, at the end of many months, was informed of a revolution

at

at Delhi. He ſtopt not his oxen, nor converted the plow-ſhare into a ſword. He whiſtled unconcerned along his field; and enquired not, perhaps, concerning the name of the new prince.

Notwithſtanding this indifference in the inferior ſort, the emperor every day extended ſymptoms of his ſuperior power to the very extremities of his empire. His edicts were tranſmitted to every diſtrict; they were publicly read, and regiſtered in the courts of juſtice. They became a ſecurity to the people againſt the impoſitions of the governor. An appeal lay from his deciſions, by a petition to the emperor in the hall of audience. This doctrine was inculcated by the edicts; and ſome of the oppreſſed took advantage of the promiſe of juſtice which they contained. Their petitions, whenever they found acceſs to the throne, were heard with the attention which a jealous prince pays to his own power; and there are many inſtances in which the governors of provinces have been ſeverely puniſhed for an act of injuſtice to a poor peaſant. Never to forgive oppreſſions againſt the helpleſs and low, was an eſtabliſhed maxim among all the princes of the houſe of Timur. of power.

The power of diſpoſing of the ſucceſſion naturally belongs to a deſpot. During his life, his pleaſure is the On the rules of

law. When he dies his authority ceaſes; but the ſtrength of cuſtom has made his will, in favour of any of his ſons, a ſuperior title to primogeniture. The power is, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary. A prince having an independent right of ſucceſſion to the throne, might be very troubleſome to his father in an empire eſtabliſhed on the principles which we have deſcribed. The weight which he might derive from his hopes, would clog the wheels of government, which, under a ſyſtem of deſpotiſm, can admit of no delays, no obſtructions, no divided or limited power. Perſonal abilities, under ſuch a ſyſtem, are more neceſſary than under eſtabliſhed laws. A weak prince brings more calamities than a civil war. A minority is dreadful; and it can ſcarce exiſt, where the voice of the prince is the living law, which moves the whole machine of the ſtate.

Succeſſion to the throne.

Neceſſity frequently excuſes, in the eyes of mankind, the worſt of crimes. A prince of abilities, who mounts a throne in the Eaſt by the excluſion of an elder brother, eſcapes the deteſtation of his ſubjects from the good which they hope to derive from his ſuperior parts. Even fratricide loſes its name in ſelf-preſervation, combined with the public good. The greatneſs of the crime is eclipſed by the greatneſs of the object. Succeſs is a divine deciſion; and the ſtate gives up the lives of the un-

happy

happy ſufferers, as a ſacrifice to its own repoſe. To be born a prince, is therefore a misfortune of the worſt and moſt embarraſſing kind. He muſt die by clemency, or wade through the blood of his family to ſafety and empire.

The Hindoos, or the followers of the Brahmin faith, are in number far ſuperior to the Mahommedans in Hindoſtan. The ſyſtem of religion which they profeſs, is only perfectly known in the effect which it has upon the manners of the people. Mild, humane, obedient, and induſtrious, they are of all nations on earth the moſt eaſily conquered and governed. Their government, like that of all the inhabitants of Aſia, is deſpotic; it is, in ſuch a manner, tempered by the virtuous principles inculcated by their religion, that it ſeems milder than the moſt limited monarchy in Europe. Some of the reigning princes trace their families, with clearneſs, above four thouſand years; many of them, in a dubious manner, from the dark period which we place beyond the flood. Revolution and change are things unknown; and aſſaſſinations and conſpiracies never exiſt.

Mildneſs of the

Penal laws are ſcarce known among the Hindoos; for their motives to bad actions are few. Temperate in

their

their living, and delicate in their conſtitutions, their paſſions are calm, and they have no object but that of living with comfort and eaſe. Timid and ſubmiſſive, from the coldneſs of a vegetable diet, they have a natural abhorrence to blood. Induſtrious and frugal, they poſſeſs wealth which they never uſe. Thoſe countries, governed by native princes, which lay beyond the devaſtations of the Mahommedans, are rich, and cultivated to the higheſt degree. Their governors encourage induſtry and commerce; and it is to the ingenuity of the Hindoos, we owe all the fine manufactures in the Eaſt. During the empire of the Moguls, the trade of India was carried on by the followers of Brahma. The bankers, ſcribes, and managers of finance were native Hindoos, and the wiſeſt princes of the family of Timur protected and encouraged ſuch peaceable and uſeful ſubjects.

Hindoo government.

The nation of the Mahrattors, though chiefly compoſed of Rajaputs, or that tribe of Indians whoſe chief buſineſs is war, retain the mildneſs of their countrymen in their domeſtic government. When their armies carry deſtruction and death into the territories of Mahommedans, all is quiet, happy, and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no impoſition or obſtruction from the officers of government, no protection neceſſary but the ſhade. To be a ſtranger is a ſufficient ſecurity.

rity. Provisions are furnished by hospitality; and when a peasant is asked for water, he runs with great alacrity, and fetches milk. This is no ideal picture of happiness. The Author of the Dissertation, who travelled lately into the country of the Mahrattors, avers, from experience, the truth of his observations. But the Mahrattors, who have been represented as barbarians, are a great and rising people, subject to a regular government, the principles of which are founded on virtue.

AN

E N Q U I R Y

INTO THE

STATE OF BENGAL:

WITH A

Plan for reſtoring that Province to its former Proſperity and Splendor.

STATE OF BENGAL UNDER THE MOGULS.

Preliminary Obſervations.

THE affairs of India, though long of great importance to this kingdom, have only very lately become objects of public attention. Facts coming from afar made little impreſſion: their novelty could not rouze, nor their variety amuſe the mind. With a ſelf-denial uncommon in a ſpirited nation, we heard, without emotion, of the great actions of ſome of our countrymen; and, if we liſtened to any detail of oppreſ- Reflections.

ſions

ſions committed by others, it was with a phlegmatic indifference, unworthy of our boaſted humanity. A general diſtaſte for the ſubject prevailed; an age, marked with revolution and change, ſeemed ready to paſs away, without being ſenſible of events which will render it important in the eyes of poſterity.

Deſign of the author.

The current of public opinion has, at length, taken another direction. Men are rouzed into attention, with regard to a ſubject which concerns the welfare of the ſtate. They begin to decide, in their own minds, upon affairs which ſtand in need of the interpoſition of the nation; and they ſhew an inclination to be informed, as well as a willingneſs to correct miſtakes and to redreſs grievances. This conſideration has induced the author of the following obſervations, to ſubmit them, with all due deference, to the public. He has been, for years, a ſilent ſpectator of the tranſactions of the Britiſh nation in the Eaſt; and it is, from the means of information which he has poſſeſſed, that he hopes to give ſomething new to the world. With hands guiltleſs of rapine and depredation, he aſſumes the pen without prejudice, and he will uſe it with all decent freedom without fear.

A brief account

The empire of the Hindoos over all India, came down from the darkeſt and moſt remote antiquity,

to the 170th year before the Christian æra, when it was dissolved by civil discord and war. Bengal, like many other provinces, started up into an independent kingdom, and was governed by successive dynasties of Rajas, who chiefly resided at the now deserted capital of Ghor. Under these princes, it continued a powerful and opulent kingdom, to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was first invaded by the Mahommedans, under a prince of the race of Chillagi, who possessed the countries near the source of the Oxus. The name of this Tartar invader was Eas-ul-dien; but he was soon after reduced to subjection by Altumsh, the Patan emperor of Delhi, who formed Bengal into a province, governed by a lieutenant, who derived his authority from the conqueror.

Bengal, during the dominion of the Patans in India, was frequently subject to revolution and change. When a prince of abilities sat on the throne of Delhi, it held of the empire; when the emperor was weak, it became an independent sovereignty under its governor. When the valour and conduct of Baber put an end to the government of the Patans at Delhi, some of that race remained untouched in Bengal. The misfortunes of Humaioon, in the beginning of his reign, not only prevented him from extending the conquests of his father, but deprived him even of the throne which Baber had

of the various revolutions

had acquired; and death followed too ſoon, upon his return, to permit him to reduce the wealthy kingdom of Bengal by his arms. The glory of this conqueſt was reſerved for his ſon, the illuſtrious Akbar, who, by the expulſion of Daoôd, the laſt king of Bengal of the Patan race, annexed it in the year 1574 to his empire. Viceroys from Delhi governed the kingdom, from that period, till the debility of Mahommed Shaw gave ſcope to the uſurpation of Aliverdi; and now, by a wonderful revolution of fortune, the ſovereigns of that diſtant province are created by the deputies of the Eaſt India company.

of Bengal. To give an enlarged idea of the ſubject, it may not be improper to enquire into the mode of government, which the Moguls eſtabliſhed in the important province of Bengal. To impoſe nothing merely ſpeculative upon the public, the Writer of the Diſſertation has endeavoured to derive his information from undoubted authority. He has, therefore, tranſlated and annexed to his work, the commiſſions granted by the court of Delhi to its principal officers in the provinces: From which it will appear, that the deſpotiſm of the houſe of Timur was circumſcribed by eſtabliſhed forms and regulations, which greatly tempered the rigid ſeverity of that form of government.

Various Tenures under the Moguls.

THE Mogul Tartars, when they conquered India, carried a ſyſtem of neceſſary policy through the countries which their arms had ſubdued. Inſtead of ſeizing the lands of the vanquiſhed, they confirmed them in their poſſeſſions. The number of the conquerors bearing no proportion to the conquered, ſelf-preſervation obliged the firſt to adhere together, and to hold the ſword in their hands. Had they attempted to ſettle in different provinces, they would have ſoon ceaſed to be a people; and their power would have been broken by ſeparation. They retained, therefore, their military character; and, when they reduced a province, they made the taxes paid to former princes, the invariable rule of their impoſts. The people changed their lords, but if their government ſuffered any change, it was in the ſubſtitution of a milder deſpotiſm, in the place of the fierce tyranny of the Patans. Policy of the Moguls.

Many of the Rajas, or indigenous Indian princes, had, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Mahommedans in India, been permitted to retain a great part of their ancient poſſeſſions, which they continued to govern by their own laws, without any appeal from their juriſdic- Tributary Rajas.

 tion

tion to the courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed by Imperia commiſſions. The only mark of homage paid by the Rajas, was a certain annual tribute. The houſe of Timur, no leſs remarkable for their prudence than for their clemency and juſtice, never encroached upon the privileges of the tributary princes. They found, that though the Rajas paid not to the crown above half the ſum raiſed upon the ſubject, their policy, induſtry, and good government, were ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the Moguls, that the countries which they poſſeſſed, yielded as much in proportion to their extent, as thoſe which they had farmed out to Zemindars of their own nation and faith. In the two provinces which the Britiſh nation now poſſeſs, and which, for the future, we will diſtinguiſh by the general name of Bengal, many diſtricts of greater extent than any county in Britain, are ſtill poſſeſſed by the aboriginal Rajas. But we are more rigid than the Moguls: we have encroached on their privileges, and annihilated their power. During the domination of the houſe of Timur, one fourth of Bengal was ſubject to theſe hereditary lords.

Mahommedan Zemindars.

The diviſion of the province which was more immediately under the Mahommedan government, was parcelled out into extenſive diſtricts, called Chucklas, reſembling, in ſome meaſure, our counties; and into leſſer diviſions,

divisions, like our ancient tithings. These were lett to Zemindars, or farmers of the Imperial rents, who sometimes possessed a whole district, or Chuckla; as the Zemindar of Purnea, who assumed the style and state of a Nabob, though only a farmer of the revenue, under the unfortunate Surage-ul-Dowla. The court of Delhi, under the best princes, was venal. A sum of money, secretly and properly applied, often secured the possession of his office to the Zemindar during life; and he even was sometimes enabled to transmit it to his heirs, till, by length of time, they were, in some measure, considered as lords of their respective districts.

The farmers, however, had no lease from the crown of the lands over which they presided. Their authority for collecting the rents from the inferior tenants, was derived from a written agreement, for a certain annual sum to be paid to the treasury, exclusive of the Imperial taxes. To prevent imposition on the poorer sort, in every district there was established a register, in which the rents and imposts upon every village and farm were entered, and open to the inspection of all. The registered rents and imposts were collected by the Crorie of the district, who was established in his office by an Imperial commission. He was accountable for the whole, even to the last Dâm, as the commission expresses it, to the Fotadâr or treasurer of the district, who Their power

paid

paid them into the hands of the Dewan, or receiver-general of the Imperial revenues in the province.

restricted

The rights or dues of the Dewanny, or the revenue paid to the crown, did not amount to above half the sum raised upon the subject by the great farmers. These were, from time to time, permitted to raise the rents upon the inferior tenants, in proportion to the general improvement of the lands. The surplus, which was known to government from the public registers of the districts, was, in part, allowed to the general farmers, for the purpose of building houses for the husbandmen, for furnishing them with implements of agriculture, for embanking to prevent inundations, for making reservoirs of water for the dry season; and, in general, for all expences attending the improvement and cultivation of the lands; which otherwise would have rendered the accounts of government intricate and perplexed.

by the crown.

The great farmers, however, were not permitted to oppress the tenants with exorbitant rents; neither was it their interest to extort from the husbandmen sums which would render them incapable of cultivating their lands, and of living comfortably upon the fruits of their toil. In the Imperial officers of the revenue, the poor had

had friends, and the Zemindar ſpies upon his conduct. They were ſuch checks upon him, that he could conceal nothing from their obſervation. They tranſmitted monthly accounts of his tranſactions to court. If the tenants were able, without oppreſſion, to pay the additional rent, the demands of the crown roſe at the expiration of the year upon the farmer, in proportion to the new impoſt; if they were found incapable of bearing the burden, the Zemindar was turned out of his office for his avarice and imprudence.

A double revenue, it appears from what has been already obſerved, roſe to the crown from the lands; the ancient rent, eſtabliſhed at the conqueſt of India by the Moguls, and the ſums which proceeded from the annual contracts with the great farmers. The viceroy of the province was veſted with the power of letting the lands; and he was obliged to tranſmit to the receiver-general a record of the ſums payable by each Zemindar. The cauſe of this mode of raiſing the revenue is obvious. The detail of accounts, the making of contracts with the inferior tenants, would have rendered the buſineſs of government too minute and too expenſive; and to have permitted the general farmers to manage their diſtricts without either check or controul, would have given birth to ſcenes of oppreſſion, A double revenue.

which

which Fate had reserved for an unfortunate people, to our times. The Mogul empire is now no more; and the servants of the freest nation upon earth have left the body of the people to the mercy of the Zemindars.

Various Zemindars.

The general farmers of districts were not the only persons known by the name of Zemindars. Men, who possessed estates for life, and sometimes in perpetuity, free from all taxation, by virtue of Imperial grants, were distinguished by the same title. These grants were generally given to learned and religious men, to favourite servants at court, to soldiers who had deserved well of their prince, and they were respected by succeeding emperors, and seldom revoked. One sixth part of the lands in Bengal had been conferred, in perpetuity, by different princes, on their favourites and adherents. Many of these estates have fallen into the East India Company, from a failure of heirs; and others daily fall, as the property is not transferable by sale. A minute enquiry might greatly increase our revenue. Many grants said to be derived from the emperor, are only from the governors of the province; many are in the possession of men who cannot trace their blood to the original proprietors. A succession of revolutions has rolled one part of Bengal upon the other; and it is not hitherto settled from confusion.

Lands were held by a tenure leſs permanent, of the emperors of Hindoſtan. A firmân or Imperial mandate, called by the name of Jagieer, was iſſued frequently to particular men. This ſpecies of grant was for no term of years. It was given through favour, and revocable at pleaſure. When any perſon was raiſed to the rank of an Omrah, it was an eſtabliſhed rule to confer upon him an eſtate, for the ſupport of his dignity. This, however, was nothing more than an aſſignment on the revenues of the crown, ariſing from a ſpecified tract of land in a diſtrict, named in the body of the grant. The grantee had no buſineſs with the tenants, as he never reſided on the eſtate allotted for his ſubſiſtence. He ſent his agent every ſeaſon to the public officers of the diſtrict; and his receipt to them, for his allowance, was received by the Dewan, as a part of the Imperial revenue. No conditions of ſervice, none for the maintenance of troops, was annexed to this grant. Theſe are the fables of men who carried the feudal ideas of Europe into their relation of the ſtate of India. The armies of the empire were paid out of the public treaſury. Every province had its particular eſtabliſhment of troops, which the governors were impowered to augment in times of rebellion and commotion.

Different

tenures

During the domination of the houſe of Timur, there was no transferable landed property in Hindoſtan; excepting gardens, orchards, houſes, and ſome ſmall portions of ground, in the environs of great cities, for which merchants and wealthy tradeſmen had obtained particular grants, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Pottas. This ſpecies of property was repeatedly ſecured by general edicts, for the encouragement of building, for the accommodation of citizens, and the improvement of towns. Grants of this kind did not always proceed from the crown. The governors of provinces were impowered to iſſue Pottas, under certain limitations and reſtrictions: the principal one of which was, that the uſual rent of the ground ſhould be paid regularly by the proprietor, to the collectors of the Imperial revenue.

under the empire.

Tenures of other various kinds were common in Bengal, as well as in the other provinces of the empire. An aſſignment was frequently granted, upon a ſpecified tract of land, for the diſcharge of a certain ſum; and when the ſum was paid, the aſſignment expired. Particular farms were burthened with penſions, called Altumga, to holy men and their deſcendants, without their ever having any concern in the management of the lands. The deſpot reſerved the people entire to himſelf,

and

and eſtabliſhed his power by preventing oppreſſion. Certain impoſts were alſo appropriated for the maintenance of Mullas or prieſts, for the ſupport of places of worſhip, public ſchools, inns, highways, and bridges. Theſe impoſts were laid by the receiver-general of the revenue, upon the different huſbandmen, in proportion to the rent which they paid; and the tax was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the impoſitions of the Dewan.

Civil Officers and Courts of Juſtice.

IN ſtates ſubject to deſpotiſm, the legiſlative, the judicial and executive power are veſted in the prince. He is the active principle which exiſts in the center of the machine, and gives life and motion to all its parts. His authority and conſequence, however, depend, in a great meaſure, on the degreee in which he communicates his power to his officers. If he gives them all his authority, the reverence for his perſon is loſt in the ſplendor of his deputies. If he beſtows only a ſmall part of his power on his ſervants, that terror, which is the foundation of his government, is removed from the minds of his ſubjects; and a door is opened for commotion, licentiouſneſs, and crimes. The emperors of India, of the houſe of Timur, had, for two centuries, the good fortune to clothe their officers

Deſpotiſm limited

with that happy medium of authority which was sufficient to govern, without the power of oppreſſing the body of the people.

among the Moguls.

The deſpotiſm of Hindoſtan, it ought to be obſerved, was never a government of mere caprice and whim. The Mahommedans carried into their conqueſts a code of laws which circumſcribed the will of the prince. The principles and precepts of the Coran, with the commentaries upon that book, form an ample body of laws, which the houſe of Timur always obſerved; and the practice of ages had rendered ſome ancient uſages and edicts ſo ſacred in the eyes of the people, that no prudent monarch would chuſe to violate either by a wanton act of power. It was, beſides, the policy of the prince, to protect the people from the oppreſſiveneſs of his ſervants. Rebellion ſprung always from the great; and it was neceſſary for him to ſecure a party againſt their ambition, among the low.

Nabob,

The Imperial governor of a province, known by the corrupted name of Nabob, in the Eaſt as well as in Europe, was an officer of high dignity and authority; but his power, though great, was far from being unlimited and beyond controul. He conferred titles below the rank of an Omrah; he was permitted to

grant

grant eſtates till they ſhould be confirmed by the crown. He appointed and diſmiſſed at pleaſure all officers both civil and military, excepting a few, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention, who acted by commiſſion, under the ſeal of the empire; and ſome of theſe, upon miſbehaviour, he could ſuſpend till the emperor's pleaſure was known. He let the lands to the general farmers, in conjunction with the Dewan; but he bore no part in the collection of the revenue, but by aiding the Imperial officers with the military power. The Omrahs, who ſerved under him in the army, having generally, on account of the convenience, their allowance from the emperor on the rents of the province, he had the power, for diſobedience or notorious crimes, to ſuſpend them from their Jagieers, until he ſhould receive an anſwer from court, where the diſpute was examined in the cabinet. In matters of juſtice, there reſted an appeal to his tribunal, from the Cazi or chief-juſtice, though he ſeldom choſe to reverſe the decrees of that judge. Diſputes where property was not concerned, and where the eſtabliſhed laws had made no proviſion, were ſettled by his authority; but he was inſtructed at his peril not to turn the ſubjects of the empire out of the lands, tenements, or houſes, which they themſelves either poſſeſſed or built, or which deſcended to them from their anceſtors.

The

Dewan,

The Dewan was the officer next in dignity to the viceroy, in the province. He derived his commission from the emperor, as receiver-general of the revenue. His office was altogether confined to the administration and collection of the Imperial rents and taxes. He corresponded with the minister; he audited the accounts of the governor; and as he had entire to himself the charge and disposal of the public money, he might, for good reasons, refuse to discharge any extraordinary and unprecedented expences; or to issue out pay to new troops, raised without apparent necessity. He presided in the office called Dafter Ali, or over all the Mutasiddies, or clerks of the cheque; the Canongoes or public registers; Crories, or collectors of the larger districts; Fusildars, or collectors of the lesser districts; Fotadars, or treasurers; Chowdries, or chiefs of districts; Muckuddums, or head-men of villages; and in general over all the officers of the Imperial revenue.

Crorie,

The Crorie of every Pergunna or larger district, derived his commission from the emperor. His office, though in miniature, was the exact counterpart of the Dewan; being the receiver-general of the county, if the name may be used, as the former was of the whole province. He was immediately accountable to the

Dewan, in whose office he passed his accounts. He produced the receipts of the Fotadar or treasurer of the Pergunna or district, for the sums which he had paid into that officer's hands, from the collections made by the Fusildars, who, in the subdivisions of the Pergunna, held offices, each of which was a counterpart of his own.

The Carcûn of the larger districts was an officer commissioned by the emperor, to settle all matters and disputes between the tenants and the officers of the revenue, and to preserve the ancient usages of the Pergunna. He was also a kind of spy upon all their private as well as public transactions; he audited their accounts publicly, transmitting copies of them monthly to court, attested by the Sheickdars, Chowdries, and Canongoes of the district. These accounts being entered with great regularity in the visier's office at Delhi, the emperor had an immediate view of the collections in the province, before the general accounts of the Dewanny were adjusted; and this was also a great check upon the office of the Dewan. Carcûn.

The view already presented of the mode of collecting the Imperial revenue, renders it unnecessary to descend through all the inferior offices in the department of the receiver- and other officers.

receiver-general. The revenues, it muſt be obſerved, were never tranſmitted entire to the Imperial treaſury in the capital of the province, much leſs into that of the empire. The expences incurred in every diſtrict were deducted from the receipts of the Fotadar or treaſurer of the diſtrict; and the diſburſements of the province in general from thoſe of the Dewan. The ſurplus alone, which was more or leſs according to accident, found its way to the Imperial exchequer. The eſtimates of the Imperial revenues are, therefore, not the ſums received in the exchequer at Delhi, but the groſs collections in every province.

Chief-juſtice. The courts of juſtice in Bengal, diſtinguiſhed by the general name of Cutcherries, were of various kinds. They generally received their deſignation from the officer who preſided in each, or within whoſe juriſdiction they were comprehended. The Author of the Enquiry is not fully informed concerning the powers of the different judges, or the mode of proceeding in their courts. There aroſe a chain of appeal from the loweſt to the higheſt. An action might be removed from any of the courts below before the Cazi of the province, commonly called Daroga Adalit, or chief-juſtice; and from him there lay an appeal to the tribunal of the viceroy.

Inferior judges were appointed by an Imperial commiſſion, in every large diſtrict, and in every conſiderable city, with whom appeals reſted, from the courts in the country, and from the deciſions of Cutwals, or mayors of towns. Theſe Cazis, or judges, were veſted with power to ſummon before them all perſons, to examine records, public regiſters, grants, and witneſſes. They were, at their peril, to paſs judgment impartially, according to the laws of the Coran, and the canons and regulations of the empire. They were impowered to make and diſſolve marriages, to execute contracts of every kind between individuals, to inflict puniſhments, which did not extend to either life or limb. They took cognizance of all riots, diſorders, and tumults; and they were denominated the general guardians of the morals of the people. They were provided with an eſtabliſhment of clerks, regiſters, and officers of the court. They paſſed judgment in a ſummary manner, and their legal fees were one fourth of the matter in diſpute, equally levied upon the plaintiff and defendant. This regulation was intended to prevent vexatious law-ſuits, as well as to bring them to a ſpeedy iſſue. During the vigour of the Mogul empire, capital puniſhments were hardly known in India. When a crime which merited death was committed, the Cazi, after a full proof of the fact, by witneſſes,

Judges.

pronounced ſentence againſt the guilty perſon; but, without the confirmation of the viceroy, it could not be put in execution. Though the empire ſometimes abounded with treaſon, it was never puniſhed but in the field.

Inferior officers.

In each ſubdiviſion of the Pergunna or diſtrict, ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Cazi or judge, there was an inferior officer called a Chowdri, ſimilar to our juſtice of the peace. Every village had its chief-man, who was the conſtable of his own department. A Fogedar was, properly ſpeaking, the commander of the troops, in every military ſtation. He ſometimes farmed the lands in the neighbourhood; and being the immediate repreſentative of the viceroy, he was conſidered as the principal officer in his diſtrict. But he did not ſit in judgment, the civil being always kept diſtinct from the military department, under the government of the Moguls, as long as it retained its vigour. The Zemindars or general farmers, were ſometimes entruſted with the command of the troops in their own diſtricts; but in their courts they decided only upon trivial diſputes between the inferior huſbandmen.—Such was the government of Bengal, under the empire of the houſe of Timur.

Revenue

Revenue and Commerce.

A Brief, but it is hoped a comprehenſive, idea being given, in the preceding ſection, of the government of Bengal under the Imperial houſe of Timur, the Author of the Enquiry will proceed to explain the Revenues and Commerce of that once flouriſhing and opulent kingdom. In the reign of the emperor Jehangire, the revenues of the provinces of Bengal and Behâr, both which, for the ſake of brevity, we comprehend under the name of the former, amounted to £ 2,796,719 13 2 Revenue of Bengal and Behâr.

Under his grandſon Aurungzêbe they encreaſed to - - -	2,911,866	7	6

Mahommed Shuffia, who wrote an abridgment of the Hiſtory of the Empire, from the death of the illuſtrious Akbâr to the fatal invaſion of Nadir Shaw, where he mentions the provinces which revolted during the indolent reign of Mahommed Shaw, eſtimates the revenues of Bengal at ſixty crores of Dâms, or one crore and fifty lacks of roupees, which ſum is equal to £ 1,875,000

The revenues of Behâr, according to the ſame writer, amounted to forty-five crores of Dâms, or - - - -	1,406,250
	£. 3,281,250

 It

Increafe under the empire.

It appears, from the above calculation, that the revenues of Bengal had been gradually increafing, in the progrefs of the empire, through time. They continued ftill to increafe, under the revolted Nabobs, fome of whom brought into their treafury four millions of our money, but not without diftreffing the fubject, and plundering him of a part of his wealth. It may be neceffary to repeat an obfervation, already made, that not above half the fum raifed upon the people came into the coffers of government. The exact fum tranfmitted annually to Delhi, before the diffolution of the empire, is not eafy to afcertain; but we can form fome judgment of the amount, from the ruinous policy of the Imperial court, when its ancient vigour began to decline. The provinces of Bengal and Behâr, during fome years of indolence and debility, were farmed out to the viceroys, who paid into the treafury, one million two hundred and forty-nine thoufand nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds feventeen fhillings and fixpence of our money.

Sum annually remitted to Delhi.

This fum, it is fuppofed, was a medium ftruck, upon an average of years, of the money remitted to the treafury at Delhi, when the empire retained its force. But this ftipulated revenue, as might have been forefeen, was never regularly paid. The viceroys acquired an inde-

pendent power, by a regulation which threw the whole management of the province into their hands, without controul; and the vigour of the Imperial government, in proportion, declined. The country profited, however, by the refractorinefs of its governor; if his avarice prompted him to raife more on the fubject, the latter was more able than before to pay the additional impoft, from the revenue being kept and expended in the province. Bengal began to flourifh, under an additional load of oppreffion. It yielded more to a fevere Nabob, than to the milder government of the empire; and being relieved from an annual drain of fpecie to Delhi, it became opulent under a degree of rapine.

Though defpotifm is not the moft favourable government for commerce, it flourifhed greatly in Bengal, under the ftrict juftice of the houfe of Timur. Senfible of the advantages which they themfelves would derive from a free commercial intercourfe between their fubjects, they were invariably the protectors of merchants. The military ideas which they brought from Tartary, prevented the principal fervants of the crown from engaging in trade; and, therefore, monopolies of every kind were difcouraged, and almoft unknown. No government in Europe was ever more fevere againft foreftalling and regrating,

Commerce of

grating, than was that of the Moguls in India, with regard to all the branches of commerce. A ſmall duty was raiſed by the crown; but this was amply repaid, by the never-violated ſecurity given to the merchant.

Bengal.

Bengal, from the mildneſs of its climate, the fertility of its ſoil, and the natural induſtry of the Hindoos, was always remarkable for its commerce. The eaſy communication by water from place to place, facilitated a mercantile intercourſe among the inhabitants. Every village has its canal, every Pergunna its river, and the whole kingdom the Ganges, which falling, by various mouths, into the bay of Bengal, lays open the ocean for the export of commodities and manufactures. A people, from an inviolable prejudice of religion, abſtemious, were averſe to luxury themſelves; and the wants of nature were ſupplied almoſt ſpontaneouſly by the ſoil and climate. The balance of trade, therefore, was, againſt all nations, in favour of Bengal; and it was the ſink where gold and ſilver diſappeared, without the leaſt proſpect of return.

Balance of trade in its favour.

All the European nations carried chiefly on their commerce with Bengal in bullion. The Dutch, at a medium

dium of ten years, threw annually into the boſom of that kingdom, in bullion - - - £ 475,000

The Engliſh - - - - - -	192,500
The French, Danes, and Portugueſe -	250,000
The exports of Bengal to the gulphs of Perſia and Arabia, were very great. She ſupplied Arabia, Perſia, Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, and the leſſer Aſia with her manufactures, and brought home annually, into her coffers, of gold - - - - - -	375,000
Her trade in opium and piece goods to the eaſtern kingdoms of Aſia, to the Malayan and Philippine iſlands, brought yearly a balance in her favour of - - - - -	150,000
The inland trade of Bengal, with the upper Hindoſtan and Aſſam -	250,000
The coaſting-trade with the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabâr - - -	160,000
	£ 1,852,500

The above eſtimate is made deſignedly low; for were we to argue from general principles, a greater ſum muſt have been imported annually into Bengal. The twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds remitted annually to Delhi, Obſervations.

Delhi, never returned into the province, and, as there were no mines wrought in the country, the ſurplus of the revenue muſt have proceeded from the balance of trade. Coin, it is well known, loſes greatly by friction, where little alloy is mixed with the ſilver, and where the want of paper-currency makes the circulation extremely rapid. It loſes alſo by re-coinage, which happened annually under the empire in Bengal. The practice of concealing and burying treaſure, which the terrors of deſpotiſm introduced, has occaſioned a conſiderable loſs, beſides the quantity of ſilver and gold uſed in rich manufactures. Theſe various loſſes could be only repaired by a favourable balance of trade; and the ſum which we have ſtated above, would barely ſupply the waſte.

State of Bengal under the revolted Nabobs.

Gradual decline,

THOUGH the cauſes which broke the empire were obvious, the decline of the power of the houſe of Timur was gradual and imperceptible. The ſeeds of decay were long ſown before they were brought to an enormous growth, by the indolence of Mahommed Shaw. Had even the Perſian invaſion never happened, the fabric which Baber raiſed in India was deſtined to fall to ruin. The abilities of Aurungzêbe, by eſtabliſhing half a century of domeſtic tranquility in his dominions, broke the

the ſpirit of his ſubjects, whilſt that of the Imperial family declined. The diſtant provinces obeyed the mandates of the court, through habit, more than through fear of its reſentment and power; and governors, though deſtitute of ambition, found, in their own indolence, an excuſe for their inattention to commands which could not be inforced with rigour.

The intrigues of the two Seids at the court of Delhi, who raiſed and removed monarchs at pleaſure, weakened that reſpect for the houſe of Timur which bound the allegiance of the ſubject, even after their mildneſs had degenerated into indolence. Every month brought intelligence into the diſtant provinces of the murder of one prince, whilſt another was placed on a throne, ſtill warm with his predeceſſor's blood. The veil which hid deſpotiſm from the eyes of the people, was rent in twain; monarchs became puppets, which the miniſter moved at pleaſure, and even men, who loved ſlavery on its own account, knew not to what quarter to turn their political devotion. The viceroys, under a pretence of an unſettled ſucceſſion, retained the revenues of the provinces; and, with ſpecious profeſſions of loyalty for the Imperial family, they became polite rebels againſt its authority. of the power

of the empire.

Through this debility in the Imperial line, a new ſpecies of government roſe in various provinces of India. The viceroys, though they aſſumed the ſtate of princes, were ſtill the HUMBLE SLAVES of ſome deſolate monarch, who ſat without either power or dignity in the midſt of the ruins of Delhi. They governed the people in his name, but they liſtened not to his commands. He even became an inſtrument of oppreſſion in their hands; and they ſanctified the moſt unpopular of their meaſures by inducing the prince to paſs, in their own cabinet, regulations, which originated under the ſeals of the empire. Inſtead of a revenue, they remitted to him bribes; and the neceſſity of his ſituation reduced him into a tool, to the very rebels who had ruined his power.

Effect

This mock form of an empire continued for many years; and ſome provinces are ſtill governed through the medium of a monarch that only ſubſiſts in his name. But though the Nabobs affirmed that they had ſtill an emperor, the people found, in their oppreſſions, that there was none. The check which the terror of complaints to Delhi had laid formerly on the conduct of the viceroys, was now removed; and the officers of the crown who had been placed between the ſubject and the governor, were diſcontinued or deprived of their power. The inferior tenants, inſtead of being ſupport-

 ed

ed by the Imperial collectors of the revenue against the avarice of the general farmers, were submitted, without redress, to the management of the latter, and were considered by him as a kind of property.

The usurpation of Aliverdi introduced, more than thirty years ago, the above-described form of government into Bengal. The same policy was continued by his successors. They owned the emperor of Delhi for their sovereign, but they governed the country, and collected its revenues for themselves. The interposition of the crown being removed, the independent Nabobs, who succeeded one another either by force or intrigue, adopted a more simple, but a more impolitic mode of collecting the rents and imposts, than that which had been practised by the house of Timur. The lands were let from year to year to Zemindars, who were accountable for the rents to the treasury, and the former officers of the revenue, though not annihilated, possessed neither emolument nor power. its dissolution

An intimate knowledge of the country, however, enabled the Nabobs to prevent their government from degenerating into absolute oppression. They had sense enough to see, that their own power depended upon the prosperity of their subjects; and their residence in the on the province

province gave them an opportunity of doing juſtice with more expedition and preciſion than it was done in the times of the empire. The complaints of the injured, from a poſſeſſion of the means of information, were better underſtood. The Nabobs were leſs reſtricted than formerly, in inflicting neceſſary puniſhments; and, as they were accountable to no ſuperior for the revenue, they had it in their power to remit unjuſt debts and taxes, which could not be borne. The miſeries of Bengal, in ſhort, were reſerved for other times. Commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, were encouraged; for it was not then the maxim to take the honey, by deſtroying the ſwarm.

of Bengal.

The folly of the prince had no deſtructive effect on the proſperity of the people. The Nabobs, carrying down, through their own independent government, the idea of the mild deſpotiſm of the houſe of Timur, ſeemed to mark out to the people certain lines, which they themſelves did not chuſe either to overleap or deſtroy. Many now in Britain were eye-witneſſes of the truth of this aſſertion. We appeal to the teſtimony of thoſe who marched through Bengal after the death of Surage-ul-Dowla, that, at that time, it was one of the richeſt, moſt populous, and beſt cultivated kingdoms in the world. The great men and merchants were wallowing in wealth

and

and luxury; the inferior tenants and the manufacturers were bleſſed with plenty, content, and eaſe. But the cloud which has ſince obſcured this ſunſhine was near.

When the troubles, which ended by putting Bengal into the hands of the Company, firſt aroſe, Surage-ul-Dowla, a very young and inconſiderate prince, was Nabob of the three provinces. The good fortune which had at firſt forſaken us, returned to our arms; and, by the aſſiſtance, or rather opportune treachery of Jaffier, one of his generals, he was depoſed and murdered. We raiſed the Traitor, as a reward for his convenient treaſon, to a throne ſtill warm with the blood of his lord; and the meaſure ſeemed to be juſtified, by our apparent inability of retaining the conquered province in our own hands. Brief recapitulation

The fortune of Jaffier, however, did not long withhold her frowns. Though he had treachery enough to ruin his maſter, he was deſtitute of abilities to reign in his place. His weakneſs became an excuſe for a revolution, which had been meditated on other grounds; and Caſſim Ali, Jaffier's ſon-in-law, an intriguing politician, was inveſted with the dignity and power of his father. If Jaffier was weak, Caſſim had too good parts to be permitted to govern Bengal. He was depoſed, and his of its

predeceſſor

predeceſſor reinſtated in his place. This farce in politics was adopted as a precedent. A governor, without a revolution in the ſtate of Bengal, could not anſwer to himſelf for idling away his time.

late revolutions.

The civil wars, to which a violent deſire of creating Nabobs gave riſe, were attended with tragical events. The country was depopulated by every ſpecies of public diſtreſs. In the ſpace of ſix years, half the great cities of an opulent kingdom were rendered deſolate; the moſt fertile fields in the world lay waſte; and five millions of harmleſs and induſtrious people were either expelled or deſtroyed. Want of foreſight became more fatal than innate barbariſm; and men found themſelves wading through blood and ruin, when their object was only ſpoil. But this is not the time to rend the veil which covers our political tranſactions in Aſia.

STATE OF BENGAL

UNDER THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Observations on the Treaty for the Dewanny.

AN ample field lay open before us; but we have appropriated revolution and war to history. The present disquisition is of an inferior kind; an enquiry, which means not to irritate but to reform. Let it suffice to say, that Bengal suffered from disturbances and violent measures; and that Fortune, though unfavourable, was less fatal, than the rapacity of avaricious men. Peculiarly unhappy, an unwarlike but industrious people, were subdued by a society whose business was commerce. A barbarous enemy may slay a prostrate foe; but a civilized conqueror can only ruin nations without the sword. Monopolies and an exclusive trade joined issue with additional taxations; the unfortunate were deprived of the means, whilst the demands upon them were, with peculiar absurdity, increased. Reflections.

But

Obſervations

But to wander no farther into declamation: though the misfortunes of Bengal began with the revolutions and changes which ſucceeded the death of Surage-ul-Dowla, the ſyſtem, which advances ſtill with haſty ſtrides, to the complete ruin of that once opulent province, was eſtabliſhed ſeveral years after that event. A noble governor ſent to command in Bengal, by the Eaſt India Company, arrived in that kingdom in the May of 1765. The expulſion of the Nabob Caſſim Ali, and the reduction of Suja-ul-Dowla, by our arms, had enabled the ſervants of the Company to eſtabliſh peace upon their own terms. The treaty which they concluded was abſurd; and had it been leſs exceptionable, it would not probably have pleaſed a man, who went not to India to be idle.

on the treaty

The various revolutions of Fortune, which had ſubjected ſeveral of the richeſt provinces of India to the Company's ſervants, threw the undoubted heir of the Mogul empire into their hands. The governor availed himſelf of this circumſtance. Other Nabobs had converted the unfortunate prince into a tool; and it was now the turn of our governor to do the ſame, for the benefit of his conſtituents. Conſcious of his power over the emperor, and having the abſolute direction of a Nabob, who owed his elevation to the governor, himſelf, and to his own

 crimes,

crimes, he threw aside the former treaty. A perpetual commission for the office of Dewan, or receiver-general of the revenues of Bengal, Behâr, and Orissa was obtained, from SHAW ALLUM, for the Company. The office of perpetual Nabob might have been as easily obtained; but the former balanced a thousand disadvantages, by rendering the nature of the tenure perplexed.

In consideration of the Imperial mandate, which, with the revenues, conferred the government of Bengal for ever on the Company, Shaw Allum was to receive an annual pension of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. The annuity was moderate to the lineal successor of Timur. He was, at the same time, guaranteed in the possession of the province of Allahabâd; and thus a kind of provision was made for a prince, who retained nothing of what belonged to his illustrious ancestors, except the empty title of emperor of Hindostan. This treaty, however, though it dazzled with its splendor, was neither solid nor advantageous in itself. The emperor, instead of being placed at Allahabâd, ought to possess the province, out of which his pretended visier Suja-ul-Dowla, had been recently driven; or should that measure be supposed to invest him with dangerous power, the territories of Bulwant Singh, equal in revenue to Allahabâd, might have been conferred

with the emperor

upon him. The Company, being then in poſſeſſion of all theſe provinces, might, by its ſervants, have adopted either of theſe ſyſtems.

Shaw Allum, To the firſt meaſure there are no well-founded objections, and many advantages might be derived from it. The ſum of three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds might have been annually ſaved, which ſum is now ſent to a diſtant province, from whence it never returns. This latter circumſtance is of more real prejudice to Bengal and the affairs of the Company, than if half the revenues of the province had been given to the emperor, upon condition of his keeping his court in that country. Had Shaw Allum been put in poſſeſſion of the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, the natural inactivity of his diſpoſition, and the extraordinary expence and magnificence, which he is, in ſome meaſure, obliged to ſupport, would have prevented him from being ſo dangerous a neighbour as even Suja-ul-Dowla. The whole empire was in a ſtate of rebellion; and we were only from convenience his friends.

for the Dewanny. Arguments crowd in to ſupport this poſition; but there are ſtill ſtronger reaſons for placing the emperor in the territories of Bulwant Singh. His reſidence, in ſuch a caſe, might have been fixed at Patna or Mon-

geer;

geer; and our army, inftead of being cantoned at Allahabâd and Cora, two hundred miles from the frontier of our provinces, might have remained in Patna, in the center of our dominions. Bengal, had this meafure been adopted, inftead of lofing the penfion paid to the emperor, and the enormous expence of a brigade in a foreign country, would have been enriched by the greater part of the revenues of the territories of Bulwant Singh; for which he had paid twenty-two lacks of roupees to Suja-ul-Dowla, though in reality he collected double that fum upon the fubject.

The latter pofition will appear more obvious from the following ftate. Bengal, had the meafure been adopted, would annually have faved, Its lofs and inconvenience

The penfion paid to the emperor,	£. 325,000
The expence of a brigade, - -	187,500
Twenty lacks from the territories of Bulwant Singh fpent at Patna,	250,000
	762,500

This meafure alone, we may venture to affirm, would have preferved Bengal in a flourifhing condition, in fpite of avarice and mifmanagement. It would, at the fame time, have been attended with many falutary effects in our political fyftem in India. The emperor would have been more immediately under our eye; for to the Company.

 though

though he at preſent labours under an eclipſe, he may, ſome time or other, ſhine forth like a comet, in the hands of an ambitious and able man. We are now obliged to protect and ſupport him, under manifeſt diſadvantages. His territories border on the Mahrattors, Jates, and Rohillas; and he is under a perpetual apprehenſion from theſe nations. Had the meaſure, the advantages of which we have deſcribed, been taken, Suja-ul-Dowla would have come in between him and theſe powers; but, at preſent, our army at Allahabâd becomes a ſecurity to that prince; whoſe apprehenſions would otherwiſe have induced him to adhere more firmly than he now ſhews an inclination, to his treaty with the Company.

State of Commerce in Bengal, under the Company.

Obſervations on the

THE proſperity and opulence which Bengal enjoyed during the government of the houſe of Timur, and even under the revolted viceroys, proceeded from her lucrative commerce, as much as from the fertility of her ſoil. Rich in the induſtry of her inhabitants, ſhe became independent of the partial rapine of impolitic governors, who plundered only to ſquander away. The money, which entered by injuſtice at one door of the treaſury, was carried out at another by luxury. The court of the

 Nabob

Nabob was the heart, which only received the various currents of wealth, to throw it with vigour, through every vein of the kingdom.

preſent commerce of Bengal.

We may date the commencement of decline, from the day on which Bengal fell under the dominion of foreigners; who were more anxious to improve the preſent moment to their own emolument, than, by providing againſt waſte, to ſecure a permanent advantage to the Britiſh nation. With a peculiar want of foreſight, they began to drain the reſervoir, without turning into it any ſtream to prevent it from being exhauſted. From obſervation, we deſcend to facts.

The annual inveſtments of the Company, for which no ſpecie is received, amounts, at an average of ten years, to - - - - -	£. 927,500
Thoſe of the Dutch, for which the ſervants of the Company take bills on Europe, for remitting fortunes acquired in Bengal, - - -	200,000
Thoſe of the French, paid for to the natives, in the ſame way. -	350,000
Thoſe of the Portugueſe and Danes, -	100,000
	£. 1,577,500

	£. 1,577,500
Bengal, it ſhall hereafter appear, to replace all this waſte, ſcarce annually receives in bullion, - -	100,000
She loſes, therefore, yearly, to Europe,	£. 1,477,500

Cauſe of its decline

The above eſtimate of the exports of Bengal, for which ſhe receives no ſpecie, is formed on the prime coſt of her manufactures. The balance againſt her comprehends the ſavings of the Company on the revenue, the value of Britiſh exports, the private fortunes of individuals, which center in this kingdom. This ruinous commerce with Europe is not balanced, by a lucrative intercourſe with the various ſtates of Aſia. The increaſe of the demand for the manufactures of Bengal, for our markets here, and the revolutions which ſhook and greatly depopulated that kingdom, have raiſed the price of goods. The demand would, upon this head, ſink in proportion in the Eaſt; but beſides, the internal ſtate of the various countries, which formerly exchanged bullion for the goods of Bengal, has been long unfavourable to foreign commerce.

with Perſia, Egypt,

Perſia, about thirty years ag[illegible] [illegible]eat and a flouriſhing empire, has been torn to pieces, and almoſt depopulated

 by

by the cruelties of Nadir Shaw; and, ſince his aſſaſſination, by unremitting civil wars. The few inhabitants, who eſcaped the rage of the ſword, ſit down in the midſt of poverty. Georgia and Armenia, who ſhared in the troubles of Perſia, ſhare alſo her untoward fate. Indigence has ſhut up the doors of commerce; vanity has diſappeared with wealth, and men content themſelves with the coarſe manufactures of their native countries. The Turkiſh empire has long declined on its ſouthern and eaſtern frontiers. Egypt rebelled: Babylonia, under its Baſha, revolted. The diſtracted ſtate of the former has almoſt ſhut up the trade, by caravans, from Suez to Cairo; from the latter of which, the manufactures of Bengal were conveyed by ſea to all the ports of the Ottoman dominions.

The rapacity of the Baſha of Bagdat, which is encreaſed by the neceſſity of keeping a great ſtanding force to ſupport his uſurpation, has environed with terror the walls of Buſſora, which circumſtance has almoſt annihilated its commerce with Syria. Scarce a caravan paſſes from the gulph of Perſia to Aleppo once in two years; and when it does, it is but poor and ſmall. Formerly, in every ſeaſon, ſeveral rich and numerous caravans croſſed the deſart to Syria; but the few that venture at preſent, being too weak to protect themſelves againſt the wandering

Syria, Babylonia,

dering

dering Arabs, are ſtopt by every tribe, and are obliged to purchaſe ſafety with exorbitant duties. Trade is in a manner unknown; the merchants of Buſſora are ruined; and there were, laſt year, in the warehouſes of that city, of the manufactures of Bengal, to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds, which could not be ſold for half the prime coſt.

the reſt of Hindoſtan,

The number of independent kingdoms, which have ſtarted up from the ruins of the Mogul empire, has almoſt deſtroyed the inland commerce of Bengal with the upper parts of Hindoſtan. Every prince levies heavy duties upon all goods that paſs through his dominions. The merchants, who formerly came down toward the mouths of the Ganges to purchaſe commodities, have diſcontinued a trade, not only ruined by impoſts, but even unſafe from banditti. The province of Oud and Aſſâm are the only inland countries with which Bengal drives, at preſent, any trade. The former has greatly the balance in its favour againſt us of late years, from the money expended by ſeven thouſand of our own troops, which till of late have been ſtationed in the neighbourhood of the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, in conſequence of an impolitic treaty, and to anſwer private views. The commerce of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, with Aſſâm, is almoſt balanced by the

the quantity of ſilk, Mugadutties and lack, which we receive from that kingdom in return.

The trade of Bengal, with the kingdoms and iſlands of the eaſtern Aſia, ſtill continues in ſome degree; but it has been long on the decline. The coaſting trade with the maritime provinces of Hindoſtan has, upon various accounts, decayed. We may venture to affirm, upon the whole, that the balance in favour of Bengal, from all its Aſiatic commerce, exceeds not annually one hundred thouſand pounds. The council of Calcutta have calculated it at leſs than half that ſum. They eſtimated, in the year 1768, the importation of bullion into Bengal, for the ſpace of four years, at fifteen lacks of roupees; which amounts annually to forty-ſix thouſand pounds of our money. But the cauſe of this decay lies more in negligence, than in the preſent ſtate of the maritime regions and iſlands beyond the eaſtern mouth of the Ganges. and the regions of eaſtern Aſia.

To draw a concluſion from the obſervations made: Though Bengal, by her induſtry, yields to Europe, of manufactures, to the annual amount of one million five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds, for which ſhe receives nothing; yet, Eſtimate of the loſs

if the balance of her trade with Aſia amounts to one hundred thouſand pounds, ſhe may ſtill continue to flouriſh under a proper ſyſtem of internal regulation. The paradox is hitherto ſupportable by argument and proof; but there ſtill remain heavy articles to be brought into the account againſt Bengal. Some of the articles, from their complicated nature, muſt be ſtated from opinion: Others reſt on incontrovertible facts. The eſtimate of the firſt ſhall be made as low as poſſible: The latter are eſtabliſhed beyond the power of cavil itſelf.

f ſpecie to Bengal.

	£.
The ſpecie carried from Bengal by the expelled Nabob, Caſſim Ali, is ſuppoſed to amount to - - -	1,250,000
Specie carried away by men of property, who have deſerted the kingdom ſince the power of the company prevailed,	2,500,000
The expences of the war, for one whole year, in the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, at five lacks per month; which, after deducting fifty lacks, paid by treaty by that prince, amounts to	125,000
Carry over	3,875,000

Specie

Brought over	£. 3,875,000
Specie ſent from Bengal to pay a brigade, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand men, ſtationed for five years, after the peace, at Allahabâd, at the annual expence of fifteen lacks - - -	937,500
Specie ſent from that kingdom to China and Madraſs, including the expences of troops on the coaſt, detached from the eſtabliſhment of Bengal -	1,500,000
Specie brought to England - -	100,000
Exported of ſpecie - - -	6,412,500
Deduct the imports of bullion for twelve years, at the annual ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds - -	1,200,000
Decreaſe in the ſpecie of Bengal ſince the acceſſion of the company to the dominion of that kingdom - -	5,212,500

This ruinous ſtate of the commerce of Bengal is, by no means, exaggerated. To deprive every adverſary of argument, the calculations are, by the Author of the Enquiry, purpoſely rendered extremely low. A comparative view of the former ſituation of that once opulent kingdom with its preſent condition, will throw additional

Her preſent compared

additional light on the subject. In the days of the empire, the balance of trade for which Bengal received bullion, has been estimated at £. 1,687,500

Deduct the annual revenue sent in specie to Delhi - - - 1,250,000

Yearly acquisition in money - - 437,500

with her ancient commerce.

The kingdom of Bengal, it appears, has not, in the midst of her misfortunes, fallen off greatly from her former exports of manufactures. She still sends to Europe, within one hundred and ten thousand pounds a-year of the quantity, for which she received the above balance of bullion, in the days of her prosperity. This, had not her specie been exported, would not have impoverished her. But let us suppose that her whole currency amounted to fifteen millions; the entire loss of a third part of that sum must have inevitably distressed her; and an annual decrease of near half a million must, if not prevented, in a few years, totally ruin the little commerce that still remains. The prospect is gloomy. The taxes must be lessened, and the ruin, which we have brought on an unfortunate country, will recoil upon ourselves.

Reflections on the

To illustrate the argument by comparison. Were the paper-currency of Great Britain totally suppressed,

6 and

and her gold and ſilver currency, which is eſtimated at ſeven millions, left for the purpoſes of trade and taxation, it is evident, that ruinous conſequences muſt enſue; but none will pretend to affirm, that the nation, by ſuch a meaſure, would become one farthing poorer than before. Trade, however, from the want of a ſufficient quantity of the ſigns of wealth and property, would be cramped in all its veins. The intereſt of money, in ſpite of laws, would riſe to an enormous pitch. The ſame want of currency would, at the ſame time, become ſuch a check upon luxury, that the price of labour, and eſpecially of proviſions, would fall, unleſs the latter were kept up by rigorouſly inforcing the preſent taxes without abatement. The price of proviſions, in that caſe, would riſe every day, and the poor would daily become leſs able to purchaſe. The people would, in a very few years, be ſtript of all their property, and national beggary would be followed by national ruin.

ruinous ſtate of Bengal.

Bengal, from the decreaſe of her ſpecie, feels, in fact, the miſeries which we have in ſpeculation juſt deſcribed. Were not her taxes inforced by oppreſſion, proviſions would fall in proportion to the decreaſe of wealth; ſuppoſing the number of inhabitants and ſtate of cultivation to continue the ſame. But the reverſe happens, from our endeavouring to keep up the revenues to their

former

former pitch. The farmer cannot ſell his grain without a price, which bears a proportion to the rents which he is obliged to pay, whilſt his cultivation decreaſes for want of a ſufficient ſtock. The conſumer, at the ſame time, muſt have food. If he is a manufacturer or labourer, he muſt raiſe his goods or his wages to anſwer the price of bread. The evils of a forced ſtate of ſociety encreaſe. Famine, with all its horrors, enſues, and, by ſweeping away ſome millions of wretched people, gives, to the unhappy ſurvivors, the reſpite of a few years.

Obſervations on Monopolies.

Reflections

THE Monopolies eſtabliſhed by the ſervants of the Company in Bengal, furniſh an ample field for animadverſion. But other writers have already occupied that province. The brevity which the Author of the Enquiry has preſcribed to his work, induces him to paſs lightly over ground that has been trodden before. It is ſuperfluous to inſiſt upon the prejudice which Monopoly has done to the natural rights of the natives, and to the privileges which they poſſeſſed, by preſcription, from Deſpotiſm itſelf. This part of the ſubject has been handled with ability by others: we ſhall ſlightly touch upon what has eſcaped their obſervation.

Salt,

Salt, in almoſt every country, is one of the neceſſaries of life. In Bengal, which ſtill contains near fifteen millions of people, the conſumption of this article muſt be very great; for, beſides what they themſelves conſume, they mix great quantities with the food of their cattle. Salt is produced by filtrating the earth near the mouths of the Ganges, and by then boiling the water which is impregnated with ſaline particles. The proceſs is ſimple and cheap, where wood for fuel coſts nothing. The low price at which ſalt could be conveyed through all the branches of the Ganges, rendered it an advantageous article of trade with the inland ports of Hindoſtan. Great quantities were ſent to Benâris and Mirzapour, from the markets of which, the provinces of Oud and Allahabâd, the territories of the Raja of Bundela, and of all the petty princes of the kingdom of Malava, were ſupplied. This trade, by a ſociety of Monopoliſts in Calcutta, was ſeized in the year 1765. Avarice got the better of prudence; and a rage for preſent gain cut off all future proſpects. The article of ſalt was raiſed two hundred *per cent.*; and the foreign purchaſers, finding that they could be ſupplied at a much cheaper rate with rock-ſalt from the dominions of the Rohillas near Delhi, this valuable commerce at once was loſt.

on the ruinous

Monopolies in Bengal.

Beetle-nut and Tobacco have, by the ſtrength of habit, become almoſt neceſſaries of life in Hindoſtan. The firſt is produced in many parts of the Decan; and the latter is cultivated over all the empire. There was, however, a conſiderable exportation from Bengal in theſe articles; and it, unfortunately for that country, attracted the notice of the Monopoliſts. But, as if Monopolies were not ſufficient to deſtroy the inland commerce of Bengal, with the reſt of Hindoſtan, an edict was iſſued, in the year 1768, prohibiting all the ſervants of the Company, the free merchants, Armenians, Portugueſe, and all foreigners whatſoever, from carrying goods beyond the limits of our province, under the pain of confiſcation, and the ſevereſt puniſhments inflicted on their agents.

The Directors vindicated.

The Court of Directors, it is but juſtice to declare, have invariably oppoſed the above-recited deſtructive monopolies. But the commands of fugitive and tranſient maſters are weak in oppoſition to intereſt. The fluctuations in Leadenhall-ſtreet, deprived the mandates which iſſued from it of all their authority; and the preſidency abroad frequently received orders, from their conſtituents at home, with the ſame inattention that the Nizâm of Golconda would pay to the Firmân of the

unfortunate

unfortunate Shaw Allum. The Directors, in ſhort, are only to blame in an acquieſcence to a diſobedience to the orders of their predeceſſors in office. Carrying frequently the animoſity of prior contention into their meaſures, they forgot the attention due to their own power, in the pleaſure of ſeeing a ſlur thrown on that of their opponents. They are alſo blameable for the ſuſpicious veil of ſecrecy with which they affect to cover their affairs. The door of information is, in ſome meaſure, ſhut up; the inferior ſervants are precluded, by an ill-founded fear, from laying open to them the ſtate of Government abroad, and it was perhaps the intereſt of their ſuperior ſervants to conceal a part of the truth. Subſtantial darkneſs has by theſe means ſettled on objects, which, it is even the intereſt of the Company, as well as of the nation, ſhould be known to the world.

Mode of collecting the Revenues.

THE princes, whom we raiſed in Bengal, vaniſhed imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unſubſtantial as the ſhew of power with which, as in deriſion, we inveſted them, they diſappeared, like Romulus, but without a ſtorm. The benefits derived from former revolutions, created a love of change; and the angel of death, Fugitive

death, if not our friend, was opportune in his frequent visits to the Musnud. In the course of five years, three Nabobs expired; and the unfledged sovereign, who acceded to the nominal government of Bengal on the March of 1770, has enjoyed already, considering the times, a long reign. Nabobs, to own the truth, are useless; and they are dismissed to their fathers, without either ceremony or noise.

Nabobs.

In the year 1765, upon the demise of Jaffier, whom we had, for the first time, raised in 1757 to the government for his convenient treachery to his master, Nijim-ul-Dowla, his son by a common prostitute, was, in the eighteenth year of his age, placed upon the throne, in the capital of Murshedabâd. Soon after the accession of this prince, a noble governor, on the part of the Company, arrived at Calcutta, and executed the treaty which has furnished materials for a preceding section. Mahommed Riza, a man of less integrity than abilities, was made prime minister; activity being a virtue more necessary to the intention of his creation than honesty. The wretched Nijim-ul-Dowla was a mere name; a figure of state more despicable, if possible, than the meanness of his family and parts. The whole executive government turned upon Mahommed Riza. A resident was sent from Calcutta to check the accounts of the

nominal government; as if one man, who knew very little of the language, manners, and opinions of the people, could prevent the frauds of an artful minifter, and ten thoufand of his dependents, verfed in the management of finance. The confequence might be forefeen with little penetration. Unable, and perhaps unwilling to oppofe the current, the refident fell down with the ftream, and became fo far a check upon Mahommed, that he appropriated to himfelf a part of what the minifter might otherwife have thrown into his own treafure.

Mahommed Riza Chan.

Mahommed Riza, as a fmall falary of office, received annually one hundred and twelve thoufand five hundred pounds, with three hundred and feventy-five thoufand pounds a-year to be diftributed in penfions among his friends. The minifter, with his other good qualities, had no local attachment to friends. They were of various complexions and religions; fair-faced Europeans, as well as fwarthy Indians; and, though profeffing Mahommedanifm himfelf, he was fo far from being an enemy to the uncircumcifed, that it is faid the moft of his penfions and gratuities were beftowed on good Chriftians born in Great Britain and Ireland. Mahommed, however, did not take up his whole time with acts of benevolence to our nation. He applied himfelf to

 bufinefs;

business; and he was more rigid in executing the government which the revolted Nabobs had established in Bengal, than fond of introducing innovations more favourable to the prosperity of the country.

Impolitic

The Nabobs of Bengal, it has been already observed, began the ruinous policy of farming out the lands annually; leaving the wretched tenants to the oppression and tyranny of temporary Zemindars. At the commencement of every year, there is a general congress of all the great farmers, at the capital of Bengal; which meeting is, in the language of the country, called Punea. The object of the congress is to settle the accounts of the former year, and to give the lands for another, to the highest bidder. The competition between the farmers is favourable to the private interest of Mahommed Riza, and his friend the resident; but it is destructive to the poor, and consequently to the Company's affairs.

and cruel

The charge of travelling, from the more distant divisions of the province, and the expence of living in the capital, are but a very inconsiderable part of the loss of the farmers in this visit to court. Pretences are never wanting to intimidate them, on account of their past conduct; and where no competitors offer of themselves, some are created by the minister, to raise anxiety and

terror.

terror. Preſents are an infallible remedy for quaſhing all enquiries into former oppreſſions; and a bribe ſecures to them the power of exerciſing, for another year, their tyrannies over the unhappy tenants. It would be endleſs to trace the intrigues of the farmers upon this occaſion: it would be difficult to expoſe all the artful villany of the miniſter. The Zemindars, however wealthy they may be, feign ſuch poverty, as not to be able to make up the balances of the preceding year. They have even been known to carry the farce ſo far, as to ſuffer a ſevere whipping before they would produce their money.

The avarice of Mahommed Riza is the cauſe of this unmanly behaviour in the wretched farmers. When they ſeem rich, the impoſt is raiſed; and the bribe muſt in proportion be greater. Their love of money is often more powerful than the fear of bodily pain. When they have long groaned under the laſh, ſome banker or money-broker appears, who, for the exorbitant intereſt of ten per cent. per month, diſcharges the debt. The farmer, by ſuch means as theſe, often deceives the vigilance of the miniſter and reſident, and obtains his lands for another year, becauſe no one elſe will offer a ſum which the poſſeſſor finds ſo much difficulty to pay. A friend, in the ſecret, gives ſecurity for the rents; mode of

and a preſent, thrown into the hands of the miniſter, ſuſpends, for the time, the diſcipline of the whip.

collecting the revenue.

In the year 1767, the Author of the Enquiry, who reſided, at the time, in Bengal, had the curioſity to calculate the expence of the Bundubuſt, or yearly ſettlement. He formed his eſtimate from the accounts of various Zemindars, and he avers, without exaggeration, that the expences amounted to twenty-ſeven and one-half per cent. of the rents of their lands; which may amount to a million ſterling. Theſe trivial perquiſites were ſhared between Mahommed Riza, his friends, and the bankers of Murſhedabâd. The place of the Company's reſident at the Durbâr, or the court of the Nabob, was HONESTLY worth one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a-year.

The bad

Theſe embezzlements and fraudulent practices were not, however, ſo detrimental to the Company's affairs, from the actual decreaſe in the revenues, as from the general depravity of manners, and the oppreſſions which they introduced. When the ſources of government are corrupted, they poiſon the whole ſtream. Every petty officer in the ſtate, every clerk of the revenues, aſſumed the tyrant in his own department. Juſtice was totally ſuſpended; and the fear of being plundered by a ſuperior,

rior, was the only check that remained againſt the commiſſion of the moſt atrocious crimes. Every inſtance of abſtaining from the moſt cruel oppreſſions, proceeded from indolence: every act of tyranny from the love of money. The diſtemper of avarice, in the extreme, ſeemed to infect all, whom the wrath of God againſt a devoted people, had placed in power.

The conſequences of this mode of letting the lands of Bengal, were ſuch as might, with little foreſight, have been expected; had not ſtronger impreſſions, than thoſe of reaſon been neceſſary to convince men of a profitable error. Nothing in the conquered provinces was premeditated but rapine. Every thing, but plunder, was left to chance and neceſſity, who impoſe their own laws. The farmers, having no certainty of holding the lands beyond the year, made no improvements. Their profit muſt be immediate, to ſatisfy the hand of Avarice, which was ſuſpended over their heads. Impreſſed with the uncertainty of their ſituation, they raiſed the rents, to the laſt farthing, on the wretched tenants; who, unwilling to forſake their ancient habitations and houſehold gods, ſubmitted to impoſitions which they could not pay. They looked up to Heaven in their diſtreſs; but no redreſs remained for the wretched. conſequences

of that mode.

Year after year brought new tyrants, or confirmed the old, in the practice of their former oppreſſions. The tenants being, at length, ruined, the farmers were unable to make good their contracts with government. Their cruelty to their inferiors recoiled, at length, on themſelves. Many of them were bound to ſtakes and whipped; but their poverty ceaſed to be feigned. Their complaints were heard in every ſquare of Murſhedabâd; and not a few of them expired in agonies, under the laſh. Many of the inferior tenants, reduced to deſpair, fled the country, hoping to derive from other deſpotiſms, that lenity, which our indolence, to ſpeak the beſt of ourſelves, denied. Thoſe that remained were deprived of the ſmall ſtock neceſſary for cultivation; and a great part of the lands lay waſte. Every governor thought it incumbent upon him to keep up the revenues to their former pitch; but, in ſpite of the permitted cruelty of Mahommed Riza, they continued, every year, to decreaſe. It could not have happened otherwiſe; unleſs Heaven had wrought miracles as a reward for our VIRTUES.

Wretched ſtate of the country.

In proportion as an unfortunate people became leſs able to bear the eſtabliſhed taxation, the modes of collecting it became more oppreſſive. Seven entire battalions were added to our military eſtabliſhment to enforce

inforce the collections. They carried terror and ruin through the country; but poverty was more prevalent than obstinacy every where. This new force became an enormous expence to the Company; and the unnatural pressure on the people raised the price of provisions. The manufacturers, to be able to purchase bread, shewed an inclination to raise the price of their goods. It was soon perceived that, should this be permitted, the manufactures of Bengal would not answer in Europe, so as even to indemnify the Company for prime cost, for duties and other expences, exclusive of the profit which a commercial body had a right to expect. The prices must be kept down; but this could not be done without violence. Provisions became daily dearer; and the demand for goods encreased.

from the officers

The officers chiefly employed in the management of the revenues, being needy adventurers from Persia and the upper India, carried avarice, as well as the arbitrary ideas of their own distracted governments, into their departments. Solicitous to obtain an immediate advantage to themselves, they forgot the interest of their employers; and practised every species of rapine and violence on the timid inhabitants of Bengal. The wealth, which, in the space of a few years, they accumulated, enabled them to return into their native

countries; and thus they furnished another cause of the decline of specie in the kingdom. These foreign collectors maintained a numerous train of needy dependents, who, under the protection of their tyrannical masters, assumed the privilege of rapine and peculation. Venality ceased to be a crime; and dexterity in the art of imposition, was deemed a recommendation to the first offices of trust.

of government.

Mahommed Riza made it his invariable policy to keep the servants of the Company in ignorance of the true state of affairs; and when any deception was practised, another was formed to conceal it from view. He entered into a collusion with many of the farmers. Occasional accounts were framed; and the usual accounts were studiously involved in inextricable confusion. Men, averse to trouble, throw them aside; and neglect their duty in their indolence. The servants of Mohommed Riza not only escape censure, but retain their places; and thus iniquity furnishes to itself a new field, for a repetition of its execrable talents.

Extortions

To investigate the various demands and jextortions of the Aumins, or the protectors of the people, who, instead of defending, pillage their charge, would be endless. These, by a collusion with the Zemindars, prey with

with them on the unfortunate tenants. The Gomâſtas, or agents, Dellols, Pikes, Pikars, Burkândaz, and other vermin, employed in the collection and inveſtment, eſtabliſh a thouſand modes of oppreſſion and extortion. An ignorant and unhappy people ſee theſe officers of government through the medium of fear; and comply, in melancholy ſilence, with their exorbitant demands. No collector, not even his principal ſervant, travels over any part of his diſtrict, without impoſing upon the village in which he chuſes to reſt, a tax of rice, fowl, kid, fruits, and every other luxury of the table, for himſelf and his dependents. He alſo levies fines, at pleaſure, for frivolous offences, and under various, and often falſe pretexts. The crime conſiſts, in the ability of the perſon to pay the fine; and nothing but exceſs of miſery and poverty is ſafe from the griping hand of Avarice.

The Zemindars, or principal farmers, copy the officers of government, in tyranny. The Riôts, or wretched tenants, are forced to give their labour gratuitouſly, to this tranſitory lord of a year, whenever he chuſes to employ their toil in his fields, when their own farms lie waſte for want of cultivation. There is not one article of conſumption with which the poor tenants are not obliged to ſupply the general farmer. The

of the collectors.

The quantity brought is frequently more than his consumpt demands; and, in these cases, they are forced, under the inspection of his servants, to carry their own property to market, and to dispose of it for the use of their lord. They even frequently raise or fall the exchange upon the roupees, against the wretched husbandmen; and, without even the strength of custom, they exact, from the lower sort, fees upon births, marriages, and contracts. There is scarce an occurrence upon which they have not invented arbitrary imposts.

Negligence of the Company,

The Company, having never examined into the real tenures by which many possess their lands, left an ample field for sequestration, fraud, and encroachment. The Talookdârs, or the favourites and dependents of former Nabobs, hold, by grants from their patrons, extensive tracts of land. Some of these grants convey a kind of freehold; others, estates at a very low rent, possessing, besides, particular exemptions and extraordinary immunities. These alienations were never valid, in the days of the empire, without being renewed by every viceroy; and no good reason remains, why they should now exist, as the illegal means of oppression, in the hands of petty tyrants. They have even added encroachment upon the adjacent lands, to the injustice by which they possess their own; and they have presumed to lay tolls on ferries,

ferries, and imposts upon markets, even beyond the limits of their imperfect grants. This encroachment on the rights of the Company is, however, a kind of benefit to the people. The possessor of the grant, considers the lands which it describes, as his own property; and he is, from a natural selfishness, more a friend to his inferiors than the fugitive Zemindar of a year.

To render clear affairs hitherto little understood, we must descend into more particulars. The frauds and oppressions committed in Bengal, in the collection of the revenue, are as various as they are without number. The interior policy subsisting in that kingdom, will throw new light on the subject. Some of the lands in Bengal go under the designation of Comâr, having no native tenants, being cultivated by vagrant husbandmen, who wander from place to place in quest of labour. A farmer takes frequently large tracts of these lands upon contract. He obliges himself to be answerable to government for the produce; but he keeps the accounts himself. The vagrant husbandmen whom he employs, having neither implements of agriculture nor stock, are, from time to time, supplied with small sums by the farmer, and, when the harvest is gathered in, he appropriates to himself two thirds of the crop; after paying himself from the remainder, for the interest of the sums advanced to the vagrants. The accounts delivered in to government contain

in examining into

contain every thing but the truth; and this mode, from our indolence, becoming moſt profitable to the Zemindar, he wiſhes to depopulate the country, in ſome meaſure, for his own gain.

various

The lands, which are under the immediate management of government, are, in the language of the country, called Coſs. They differ from the Comâr in various particulars. Stewards are appointed to ſuperintend them, without the power of making new contracts with the tenants, or of raiſing upon them the rents, being accountable only for the rents of the lands, as they ſtand upon the rolls of the diſtrict. Theſe rolls, however, are in general falſe and defective. Some lands, to ſerve particular friends, are greatly under-rated; and others are entirely concealed by the addreſs of the ſtewards. To grant certain immunities to the ſtewards themſelves, was formerly much in practice. They were permitted to poſſeſs, for their ſubſiſtence, gardens, paſtures, ponds for fiſh, and fields for rice. Theſe privileges have been greatly enlarged ſince Bengal fell under the Company; and the ſtewards have fixed no decent bounds to their encroachments.

fictitious tenures.

The lands diſtinguiſhed by the name of Riotty, are poſſeſſed and cultivated by the native inhabitants under Zemindars, or farmers, who contract for them with government for an annual ſum. The rents are partly levied,

vied on a meaſurement, and partly on the various productions which are ſent to market, and converted into money by the farmer. The ruinous effects of this mode of collecting the revenue have been already explained. There are, beſides, great quantities of waſte lands, which are of two kinds; lands ſtruck off the public books, at a former period, which are now cultivated, but not brought to account; and ſuch as are really waſte, which comprehend at leaſt one fourth part of Bengal. Of the former there are many large fertile tracts, well cultivated, which have been appropriated by Zemindars and their dependents; and they find means, in their accounts, with an indolent government, to avoid all ſcrutiny into their uſurpations.

To add to the miſmanagement, lands are ſet apart for almoſt every officer under the government; a mode of ſalary which makes no appearance upon the annual accounts, but which, notwithſtanding, amounts to more than all the apparent charges of collection. Great hurt ariſes to the revenues from this practice, and the abuſe ſubſiſts without reformation. The lands of all the officers ought inſtantly to be reſumed, and their ſalaries to be paid out of the exchequer. Many of the collectors have alſo impoſed partial duties upon the ſubject; and thus have added oppreſſion and injuſtice to the people, to their uſurpations upon government. and encroachments.

Perversion of justice.

Justice is suffered to be greatly perverted by the officers above specified, and others, who, from their inherent art or abilities, substitute their own decisions where government have established no legal judges. The custom of imposing mulcts and fines in all cases, is an intolerable grievance to a wretched people. The rich suffer, by having money to give; the poor, by being deprived of restitution, because they have none. Every Mahommedan, who can mutter over the Coran, raises himself to a judge, without either licence or appointment; and every Brahmin, at the head of a tribe, distributes justice according to his own fancy, without controul. The latter threatens the ignorant with the dreadful punishment of excommunication; and thus his own moderation becomes the measure of the sums which he receives from an unfortunate race of men.

Salutary regulations made in 1770.

Such, in the year 1767, was the true state of Bengal: but, it is to be hoped, that the regulations of 1770 have reformed many abuses. A plan was in that year digested, and begun to be carried into execution by men who could not be strangers to any one of the above particulars; though, from their strict adherence to the regulations of a noble governor, to which they were tied down by express orders from the Court of Directors, the abuses were permitted to exist till the country was beggared and depopulated. The effect

7. which

which the plan may have, cannot yet be estimated with precision. Were we, however, to judge from the improvements in Burdwan, which has been under the management of a very able servant for some years past, and has greatly encreased in revenue and population, the new regulations will be attended with very considerable advantages to the Company. But even Burdwân owed part of its prosperity to the misery and distress of the surrounding districts. The plan adopted will be far from effectuating the reformation and encrease of the revenue which are now required; for the balance of the revenue could, in the year 1770, hardly discharge the four hundred thousand pounds paid annually to government. If our information is just, what mighty advantages have the Company derived from their great acquisitions in Bengal?

Idea of the present Government of Bengal.

THE total suspension of all justice, among the natives of Bengal, was another cause of national decay. Men who retained some property in spite of the violence of the times, instead of being protected by British laws, found that they had not even the justice of a despot to depend upon when they were wronged. The officers of the Nabob, AS THEY WERE CALLED, com- Total suspension of all justice.

53

mitted every ſpecies of violence, under the pretence of the orders of the Company. When any perſon complained to the governor and council, he was referred back to thoſe very men of whom he had complained. The heavy crime of having appealed to Britiſh juſtice was thrown in his face, by oppreſſors who were at once judges and party; and ruin and corporal puniſhment were added to his other wrongs. The ſpirit which aſſerts the natural rights of mankind, was called inſolence, till it was totally broken by oppreſſion; and men were even cautious in venting their complaints in ſecret, fearing that the very walls of their moſt private apartments had ears.

Apology for the Company's governors.

Theſe grievances, however, proceeded not from the inhumanity of the Britiſh governors in Bengal. The Author of the Enquiry can aver, from perſonal knowledge, that the ſucceſſors of a certain noble lord were men of probity and honour, enemies to oppreſſion and cruelty of every kind. But the whole weight of ſuch a monſtrous and heterogeneous chaos of government, conſiſting of military, political, commercial and judicial affairs, falling upon the ſhoulders of men unexperienced in the regulation and management of the great machine of ſtate, it was impoſſible for them to give the neceſſary attention to all departments. The multiplicity of af-

fairs

fairs overwhelmed them with its weight; and the kingdom ſuffered more from a total want of ſyſtem, than from any premeditated deſign.

Every thing left to the ſummary deciſions of Mahommed Riza.

The courts of juſtice, which the wiſdom of the houſe of Timur had eſtabliſhed in the cities, and various diviſions of the provinces, were either annihilated, or they loſt their power under the ſummary deſpotiſm of the revolted Nabobs. Mahommed Riza, as the acting miniſter, had the whole executive power in his hands; and thoſe who retained the name of judges were only the executioners of his partial and violent deciſions. The Company's governor could not, in the nature of things, enter into the cauſe of every individual, in a very populous kingdom. When he conſulted his own eaſe, he yielded to a kind of neceſſity; and he had to his own conſcience the plauſible excuſe of having remanded the complaints to the judgment of a man who was perfectly acquainted with the manners, cuſtoms and prejudices of the natives.

Impolitic and ruinous

But even friendſhip itſelf will not permit the Writer of the Enquiry to juſtify the political conduct of any of thoſe men who poſſeſſed the ſupreme power in Bengal. Many regulations, obvious in themſelves, might have been formed; many pernicious practices be aboliſhed,

liſhed, which have been continued either through negligence or motives of another kind. Among the latter, ought to be numbered the cuſtom of ſtriking roupees every year, and iſſuing them out at five per centum above the real weight and ſtandard. To explain the ſubject, a dry diſſertation muſt be introduced. The new-coined roupees are iſſued from the mint at ſixteen per centum more than the current roupee; a coin merely imaginary, for the convenience of reducing all money to a certain denomination. The Sicca roupee, as the coin is called, continues to circulate, at the above value, till towards the latter end of the firſt year. The dealers in money, as the roupee loſes three per centum of its value at the beginning of the ſecond year, refuſe to receive it in payment, without a deduction of one or two per centum as it advances to that period.

conduct of

In the beginning of the ſecond year, the roupee, by this moſt prepoſterous of all regulations, has loſt three per centum of its imaginary value. In this manner it continues gradually to fall, till the third year after coinage; and, from that time forward it remains at eleven per centum, the intrinſic value of the ſilver. The poſſeſſor of the roupee may then, upon the payment of three per centum to the mint, have the ſame re-coined into a new Sicca of the imaginary value of ſixteen per centum. This

This gain of two per centum is intended as an inducement to bring in the ſilver, that the government may have an opportunity, every year, of robbing the public of three per centum upon the greater part of their current ſpecie. To ſupport this moſt iniquitous ſyſtem, the revenues are directed to be paid in the new Sicca roupees, otherwiſe the money-changer will make ſuch deductions, as muſt occaſion a very conſiderable loſs to the unfortunate people. This evil is attended by another. The courſe of exchange in the markets varies toward the worſt, from this cruel regulation by government, from combinations among the bankers, and the demand for particular roupees to diſcharge the revenue.

This mode of levying an annual tax on the ſilver currency, is not of the invention of the Britiſh governors of Bengal. The regulation derived its firſt exiſtence from the well-known bankers, the Jaggat Seats of Murſhedabâd, in the ſhort reign of the inconſiderate Surage-ul-Dowla. The error lies in its being adopted. But we drop this part of the ſubject, and return to the preſent ſtate of government. To do juſtice to the Court of Directors, their repeated orders have checked the violence and rapine of the nominal government of the Nabob. Some of the Company's ſervants ſuperintend, in

the mint.

various divisions of th. country, the collection of the revenue. The pension, and emoluments of Mahommed Riza have been lessened with his power. The kingdom, in point of civil regulation, if civil regulation can exist without regular courts of justice, is on a better footing than before. But much remains to be done! The distresses of an unfortunate people continue to increase, through causes which must be explained.

General Observations.

Conclusions

THE idea of the present state and government of Bengal conveyed, in the preceding sections, justifies the following conclusion, That the Company, in the management of that great kingdom, have hitherto mistaken their own interest. To increase the revenues was the point to which their servants invariably directed their attention; but the means employed defeated their views, and became ruinous to a people whom their arms had subdued. Though they exported the specie, though they checked commerce by monopoly, they heaped oppression upon additional taxes, as if rigour were necessary to power.

Much

Much penetration was not neceſſary to diſcover, that it was not by the revenues of Bengal alone that either the Britiſh nation or the Company were to be enriched. A country deſtitute of mines, deprived of foreign commerce, muſt, however opulent from better times, in the end be exhauſted. The tranſitory acquiſition, upon the opinion that all the ſpecie of Bengal had centered in Great Britain, would have no deſirable effect. The fugitive wealth would glide through our hands; and we would have only our folly to regret, when the ſources would happen to become dry. Bengal, without ruin to itſelf, could ſpare none of its ſpecie; and the objects to which our aim ſhould have been directed, are as obvious as they are ſalutary. We ought to have encouraged agriculture, the trade with the reſt of Aſia, and internal manufacture. deduced

Agriculture conſtitutes the wealth of every ſtate, not merely commercial. Bengal, a kingdom ſix hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, is compoſed of one vaſt plain of the moſt fertile ſoil in the world. Watered by many navigable rivers, inhabited by fifteen millions of induſtrious people, capable of producing proviſions for double the number, as appears from the deſarts which oppreſſion has made; it ſeems from the

marked

marked out, by the hand of Nature, as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture. Where taxes are moderate, where security of property is joined to a rich soil, cultivation will encrease, the necessaries of life will become cheap, as well as the gross materials which manufacturers require. Manufactures, by these means, would not only fall in their price, but they would be produced in a greater quantity; larger investments might be made by the Company, the consumption would encrease, and the profits rise. Bengal can, in short, be only useful in the prosperity and industry of its inhabitants. Deprive it of the last remains of its wealth, and you ruin an unfortunate people, without enriching yourselves.

preceding

In the place of those placid regulations, which render mankind useful to their lords, we substituted, with preposterous policy, force, the abrupt expedient of barbarous conquerors. The pressure of taxation has, in the space of a few years, trebled the price of provisions of all kinds. The Company have, in the mean time, been endeavouring, by every possible measure, to encrease their investments, without raising the price. Various oppressions have, for this purpose, been adopted. This wretched expedient is of short duration. The manufacturer

may, for one year, perhaps for two, redouble his induſtry; but whilſt the works of his hands is forced from him at a ſtated and arbitrary price, he ſinks under an uncommon effort, ſubject to deſpair. The principal ſervants of the Company, to conceal the evil, have found themſelves obliged, either to remit in the quality of the goods, or to raiſe the price to the manufacturer. Both expedients have been in part adopted; but it is a temporary remedy, without the hopes of effectuating a cure.

The reaſons already mentioned have contributed to deſtroy the trade of Bengal with the reſt of Aſia. Merchants can only procure the gleanings of the Company. The quality is inferior, and the prices high. Nations, formerly ſupplied from Bengal, found themſelves under the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing manufactures of the ſame kind at home, or to adapt their clothing to their poverty. Argument on this head is ſuperfluous. The plan muſt be totally and radically changed. The queſtion is not to oblige the people to become ſilk-winders, ſpinners and weavers, and to take the fruits of their labour, as it is practiſed at preſent, at an arbitrary price. Induſtry cannot be forced upon a people; let them derive advantage from toil, and indolence ſhall loſe its Obſervations.

hold. Ingenuity expires under the foolish despotism which defeats its own ends; and human nature, in its most wretched state, revolts against labour, which produces nothing but an increase of toil.

PLAN

P L A N

FOR RESTORING BENGAL

TO ITS FORMER PROSPERITY.

Preliminary Obſervations.

GOVERNMENT, among the natives of a country, riſes imperceptibly from that impenetrable obſcurity with which time and barbariſm have covered the origin of mankind. When ſtates are ſubdued by foreign enemies, who are advanced in the arts of civil life, a new conſtitution generally ſtarts up from their preſſure upon the old. Some laws of the conquerors muſt neceſſarily ſuperſede ſome of the regulations of the conquered; but the ancient form of government remains in all the leſſer departments of the ſtate. When the Patans conquered India, when the Moguls extended their empire over that country, many of the indigenous laws of the northern nations of Aſia were introduced; but the great ſyſtem, in moſt of its parts, deſcended from

Reflections on the government of India.

 the

the regulations which Brahma tranſmitted, with his followers, from remote antiquity.

Deſign of the Author.

The Britiſh nation have become the conquerors of Bengal, and they ought to extend ſome part of their own fundamental juriſprudence to ſecure their conqueſts. To call the poſſeſſions of the Company by any other name, is to leave them undefined. The ſword is our tenure, and not the Firmân of an unfortunate prince, who could not give what was not his own. The thin veil of the commiſſion for the Dewanny is removed; and we ſee a great kingdom at laſt in our power, whoſe revolutions we directed before. It is an abſolute conqueſt, and it is ſo conſidered by the world. This it was neceſſary to premiſe. The Author of the Enquiry will now proceed to his plan for reſtoring our conqueſts to their former proſperity. But he proceeds with diffidence: he ſees the magnitude of the ſubject, he feels his own want of abilities. He hopes not to eſcape without cenſure, as he confeſſes himſelf liable to error; but he ſhall anſwer his own purpoſe, if he can throw ſome rays of light upon a ſubject, which, though intereſting to the nation, continues ſtill involved in obſcurity.

Propoſal

Proposal for establishing landed Property.

POLICY precedes regulation in every society; and a nation has public before it has private concerns. The great line of general arrangement is prior to the inferior detail of government, the latter being necessarily a superstructure raised on the foundation of the former. In Bengal we are to suppose, that a new treaty is to settle its great affairs; otherwise we build on the sand, and the rain comes, and washes all away. We shall only mention a subject on which we may hereafter enlarge. Give the province of Allahabâd to Suja-ul-Dowla, the territories of Bulwant Singh to the emperor, recal your troops into your own dominions, make Patna or Mongeer the residence of the representative of Timur, degrade the wretched Mubârick from his nominal Nabobship, and let Mahommed Riza RESIGN. These arrangements require no address; the persons mentioned were the creatures, and they still continue the slaves of your power. Besides, the measures will not displease the parties. The province of Allahabâd will satisfy Suja-ul-Dowla for the territories of Bulwant Singh; Shaw Allum will prefer Patna to his residence at Allahabâd; a small pension is more eligible for Mubârick, than the dangerous name of power which he

New arrangement proposed.

he does not hold; and Mahommed Riza has derived from his SERVICES the means of securing an affluent retreat for his age. If it shall appear necessary to retain Bengal by an Imperial Firmân, let it be changed into that of perpetual Nabob.

Reflections on landed property.

This fundamental regulation being settled, another of equal boldness, but no less practicable, ought to succeed. An established idea of property is the source of all industry among individuals, and, of course, the foundation of public prosperity. When mankind are restrained from possessing any thing which they can call their own, they are but passengers in their native country, and make only those slight accommodations which suit fugitive wayfarers through the land. A carelessness for industry is the natural consequence of the transitoriness of the fruits of toil; and men sit sluggishly down, with their hands in their bosoms, when they are not for a moment certain of possessing property, much less of transmitting it to their posterity or friends.

Proposal for establishing

The decline of agriculture, of commerce, and of trade, in the kingdom of Bengal, have been already represented, and the ruinous consequences of farming out the lands from year to year, have been amply explained. Though long leases might greatly contribute to remove

these

theſe evils; there is no poſſibility of doubt, but the eſtabliſhment of real property would more immediately and effectually promote a certainty of proſperity to the kingdom. Let, therefore, the Company be impowered, by act of Parliament, to diſpoſe of all the lands in Bengal and Behâr, in perpetuity, at an annual ſum, not leſs than the preſent rents. This ſingle operation would have a chain of beneficial effects. The firſt ſale of the lands would raiſe a ſum which cannot be eſtimated with any degree of preciſion; but we may venture to affirm, that, ſhould the ſcheme be properly advertiſed before it was to take place, and a fourth part of the lands only to be diſpoſed of every year, until the whole ſhould be ſold, no leſs than ten millions, beſides a certain and perpetual revenue, might be drawn from the hidden treaſures of Bengal, and eſpecially from the other opulent kingdoms of Hindoſtan.

Mankind, it is eaſy to perceive, would, in an empire where no real property exiſts, crowd to a country in which they could enjoy the fruits of their labour, and tranſmit them to their poſterity. Cultivation would be the conſequence of ſecurity. The farmer would improve, to the height, lands that were his own. The revenue would be regularly paid without the heavy expence of a band of oppreſſors, under the name of Collectors, who ſuck the very vitals of the country; and nothing

landed property

thing would be required but a few comptoirs for the purpoſe of receiving the rents. The whole face of the country would be changed in a few years: in the place of ſtraggling towns, compoſed of miſerable huts, half of which are waſhed away every ſeaſon by the rain, great and opulent cities would ariſe. Inhabitants would crowd into Bengal from every corner of India, with their wealth; the deficiency in the currency would be reſtored, commerce would diffuſe itſelf through every vein, and manufactures would flouriſh to a degree before unknown.

in Bengal. Men of ſpeculation may ſuppoſe, that the ſecurity of property to the natives might infuſe a ſpirit of freedom, dangerous to our power, into our Indian ſubjects. Nature herſelf ſeems to have denied liberty to the inhabitants of the torrid zone. To make the natives of the fertile ſoil of Bengal free, is beyond the power of political arrangement. The indolence which attends the climate, prevents men from that conſtant activity and exertion, which is neceſſary to keep the nice balance of freedom. Their religion, their inſtitutions, their manners, the very diſpoſitions of their minds, form them for paſſive obedience. To give them property would bind them with ſtronger ties to our intereſt; and make them more our ſubjects; or, if the Britiſh nation prefers the name—more our ſlaves.

Men who have nothing to loſe, are only enſlaved by diſunion; and the terror of the impending ſword. Drive them to the laſt verge of poverty, and deſpair will ſtand in the place of ſpirit, and make them free. Men poſſeſſed of property are enſlaved by their intereſt, by their convenience, their luxury and their inherent fears. We owe our freedom to the poverty of our anceſtors, as much as to the rude independence of their ferocious barbariſm. But it is even difficult, in the cool air of our climate, to retain, in the midſt of luxury and wealth, the vigour of mind neceſſary to keep us free. To confer property on the inhabitants of Bengal, will never raiſe in their minds a ſpirit of independence. Their ſole hopes of retaining that property, will be derived from our policy and valour. When we fall, their lands will deviate to other heirs. Its great

The revenues of Bengal, when properly paid, amount to four millions. Should this ſum appear too ſmall for perpetuity, many ways and means of encreaſing the taxes, without raiſing the rents, will preſent themſelves. The Britiſh nation, famous for their political freedom, are ſtill more famous for their judgment and wiſdom in impoſing taxations. Let them transfer to the Banks of the Ganges, a part of that ſcience of finance, which has ſo much diſtinguiſhed their councils and immediate

at home. The wealth of the people of Bengal is a treafury which will never fail, if drawn upon with judgment. Taxes may rife, in a juft proportion, to the wealth which this regulation will inevitably throw into our dominions in the Eaft.

advantages. Very extenfive poffeffions in the hands of an individual, are productive of pernicious confequences in all countries; they ought, therefore, to be prevented in the prefent regulation. Let the purchafers be confined to a certain quantity of land, not exceeding, upon any account, fifty thoufand roupees a-year. To prevent the accumulation of landed property, let the fpirit of the laws of a commonwealth be adopted, and the lands be divided equally among all the male iffue of the proprietor. Let the moveable property be divided among the Mahommedan part of our fubjects, according to the laws of the Coran. Let the Hindoos, in the fame manner, retain their own laws of inheritance; which are clear, fimple, and defined.

Paper

Paper Currency.

THE abſolute eſtabliſhment of landed property, would create a perfect confidence in our faith, among our ſubjects in the Eaſt; and this circumſtance leads to another regulation, which, if adopted, would have a great and immediate effect on the proſperity of Bengal. The want of a ſufficient quantity of ſpecie for the purpoſes of trade, and the common intercourſes among mankind, is one of the greateſt evils under which Bengal at preſent labours. Let, therefore, a paper currency be introduced; a meaſure at once ſalutary, eaſy, and practicable. Let a bank be immediately eſtabliſhed at Calcutta, for the convenience of Europeans. This would, by becoming familiar to the natives, prepare them for a more general paper currency. The mode of carrying this into execution, is left in the hands of thoſe better acquainted with the nature of banking, than the Author of the Enquiry.

A propoſal for eſtabliſhing currency.

To deſtroy, at once, the fraudulent ſcience of exchange, which proves ſo detrimental to trade in Bengal, a current coin ought to be eſtabliſhed, to paſs without variation, for its fixed and intrinſic value. This was, in ſome degree, attempted by a noble governor, but he failed in his firſt principles, by impoſing an arbitrary

bitrary value upon his coin, not leſs than twenty per cent. above its intrinſic worth. No other reaſon is neceſſary for the bad ſucceſs of this coinage. Though a decimal diviſion of money is the moſt rational and commodious; yet entirely to change the forms of a country, in that reſpect, might be attended with great inconvenience. Let the roupee, therefore, conſiſt, as at preſent, of ſixteen of the imaginary Anas, which are now uſed in accounts in Bengal. The Pice, which is the twelfth part of an Ana, may be continued as the imaginary coin; but a copper coin of one half of an Ana, would anſwer the ſubdiviſions of money, and be greatly beneficial to the poor.

Its great

The immediate fall of the exorbitant intereſt of money, which prevails in Bengal, would be one of the firſt effects of this regulation. Ten per centum is the preſent intereſt; not ſo much owing to inſecurity, as to the want of currency. Men of undoubted and eſtabliſhed credit are ready to give this great premium to the lender, as they can turn the money to a great and immediate advantage. Were every man enabled, by a paper currency, to bring his whole property to the market, monopoly, in ſpite of oppreſſion, would be at an end, and trade extend itſelf through a thouſand channels not known now in ſpeculation. The conſequence

4 would

would be highly beneficial; Bengal would draw great quantities of money from all the regions of Aſia; and, by enriching herſelf, be rendered capable of bearing ſuch taxes upon different articles, as this nation, for the augmentation of the revenues, might think proper to impoſe.

Napal, Thibet, Ava, Arracân, Pegu, Siam, Cochinchina, China, and almoſt all the iſlands in the Eaſtern ocean, produce gold: In the weſt, that metal ſeems only to be found in the Turkiſh Diarbekir. Japan and China only have ſilver mines. Aſia contains native wealth, which has enriched it in all ages, excluſive of the balance of its commerce againſt Europe. The Author of the Enquiry means not that ſpecie ſhould be drawn from the Eaſt. But it might center in Bengal, and make it one of the richeſt kingdoms in the world; whilſt we might import, in its manufactures, the ſurplus of its revenues, without damaging either its foreign commerce or internal proſperity. and immediate

These two plans, and it is to be feared only theſe, would reſtore, under a government eſtabliſhed on impartial juſtice, Bengal to its former proſperity and ſplendor. Let the lands be diſpoſed of in property: let a paper currency be eſtabliſhed. Every individual would, advantages.

in

in ſuch a caſe, become induſtrious in improving his own eſtate; proviſions would fall to a third part of the preſent price; the country would aſſume a new face, and the people wear the aſpect of joy. Immenſe tracts of rich land, which now, with their woods, conceal the ruins of great cities, would again be cultivated; and new provinces ariſe out of thoſe marſhy iſlands, near the mouth of the Ganges, which are, at preſent, the wild haunts of the rhenoceros and tiger.

Monopolies.

Monopolies

THERE is no maxim in commerce better eſtabliſhed, than the deſtructive tendency of monopolies. In Bengal, its recent evils are well-known and abhorred. A law muſt provide againſt it; otherwiſe every other regulation will be made in vain. The inhabitants muſt be permitted to enjoy a free trade; ſubject, however, to ſuch impoſts upon various articles, excepting thoſe of either the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, as may be thought reaſonable from time to time. Groſs articles, neceſſary for carrying on the finer manufactures, ought, however, to be exempted from duty; and every encouragement poſſible given to the export trade.

Free merchants ought to be encouraged; neither must they be excluded from the inland trade; as that circumstance would place the subjects of Great Britain on a worse footing than foreigners, whom we cannot, without violence, prevent from trading wherever they please. Let, however, the residence of the free merchants be confined to Calcutta; as the influence which all the natives of Britain have acquired over the inhabitants of Bengal, is so great, that the selfish can convert it into the means of oppression. The Indian agents of British traders will not carry, among a wretched people, the same terror which clothes their masters; whom it is a kind of sacrilege not to obey, in their most unjust commands. abolished.

The servants of the Company will have many objections to this proposal. But the management of the revenues, and of the general trade, which must remain in their hands, will still give them superior advantages, sufficient to gratify all their reasonable desires. The influence of a member of the council will, without doubt, enable any man, in that high station, to engross a share of the trade, almost equal to a partial monopoly. Should even a man of that rank be so self-denied, as not to take advantage of the influence annexed to his place, his attention to commerce would encroach on the

Superior servants debarred from trade.

the time allotted for public affairs. Let him, therefore, when he rifes to the board, be debarred from trading, either directly or indirectly, by fevere penalties of law; and let there an ample allowance be made forhis fervices, from the funds of the Company.

Religion.

An abfolute

MEN who fubmit to bodily fervitude, have been known to revolt againft the flavery impofed on their minds. We may ufe the Indians for our benefit in this world, but let them ferve themfelves as they can in the next. All religions muft be tolerated in Bengal, except in the practice of fome inhuman cuftoms, which the Mahommedans have already, in a great meafure, deftroyed. We muft not permit young widows, in their virtuous enthufiafm, to throw themfelves on the funeral pile, with their dead hufbands; nor the fick and aged to be drowned, when their friends defpair of their lives.

toleration

The Hindoo religion, in other refpects, infpires the pureft morals. Productive, from its principles, of the greateft degree of fubordination to authority, it prepares mankind for the government of foreign lords. It fup-plies,

plies, by its well-followed precepts, the place of penal laws; and it renders crimes almoſt unknown in the land. The peaceable ſentiments which it breathes, will check the more warlike doctrines promulgated by the Coran. The prudent ſucceſſors of Timur ſaw that the Hindoo religion was favourable to their power; and they ſheathed the ſword, which the other princes of the Mahommedan perſuaſion employed in eſtabliſhing their own faith, in all their conqueſts. Freedom of conſcience was always enjoyed in India in the abſence of political freedom.

Attention muſt be paid to the uſages and very prejudices of the people, as well as a regard for their religion. Though many things of that kind may appear abſurd and trivial among Europeans, they are of the utmoſt importance among the Indians. The leaſt breach of them may be productive of an expulſion from the ſociety, a more dreadful puniſhment Draco himſelf could not deviſe. But the caution about religion is ſuperfluous: theſe are no converting days. Among the liſt of crimes committed in Bengal, perſecution for religion is not to be found; and he that will conſent to part with his property, may carry his opinions away with freedom. of all religions.

The Executive Power.

Reflection on the

THE great path of general regulation is with leſs difficulty traced, than the minute lines which carry the current of government from the center to the extremities of the ſtate. Practice reſiſts theory more on this ſubject than in any other; and the wiſeſt legiſlators can neither foreſee nor prevent obſtacles, which may riſe in the progreſs of time. In a country where the body of the people meet annually, in their repreſentatives, to new inconveniences new remedies may be inſtantly applied; and even the mandate of the deſpot loſes half its tyranny, in the expedition with which it oppoſes evil.

mode of legiſlation;

The diſtance of Bengal from the eye of the Britiſh legiſlature, renders it extremely difficult for them to frame laws againſt every emergency that may ariſe; and it is equally difficult, with propriety, to create a legiſlative authority in a kingdom, which cannot, in the nature of things, have a repreſentative of its own. The executive power being veſted in the governor and council, it is dangerous to truſt them with the legiſlative; and it is impoſſible to permit the court of juſtice, which we mean to propoſe, to make thoſe laws upon which

which they are to decide. The leaſt of two evils is preferred by the prudent. Let the governor and council ſuggeſt annually, in their general letter, the neceſſary regulations; and theſe, after being duly weighed by the Company, in their collective body at home, be laid before parliament, to be by them, if found juſt, neceſſary, and equitable, framed into a law. The general laws for the government of Bengal being, by the Britiſh legiſlature once eſtabliſhed, the inconveniences which may ariſe in India, will neither be ſo great nor detrimental as to occaſion much miſchief for one, or even two years; in which time, the propoſed regulations, ſent home by the governor and council, will return to them with the force of laws.

The executive power, in its full extent, as at preſent, must be veſted in a preſident and council, of which the chief juſtice and commander in chief of the troops ought to be, *ex officio*, members. The number ſhould be encreaſed to ſixteen, of which any five, with the preſident, may form a board; and ten always to reſide at Calcutta, excluſive of the chief juſtice and the commander in chief, ſhould even the peaceableneſs of the times permit him to be abſent from the army. The four remaining counſellors ſhould be directed to reſide in the capitals of the larger diſtricts, into which, for the benefit of juſtice, we the council;

ſhall hereafter divide the provinces of Bengal and Behâr. The buſineſs for forming regulations to make a foundation of a law, being of the laſt importance, ought never to come before leſs than ten members in council, of whom the chief juſtice ought invariably to be one.

boards of revenues.

Let a general board of revenue be eſtabliſhed at Calcutta, at which a member of the council is to preſide. Let this board, in its inferior departments, be conducted by the Company's ſervants; and let it receive the correſpondence and check the accounts of four other boards of the ſame kind, but of inferior juriſdiction, to be fixed at Dacca, Murſhedabâd, Mongeer, and Patna. Let the provinces of Bengal and Behâr be divided into five equal diviſions, each ſubject, in the firſt inſtance, to one of the four boards, which are all under the controul of the ſuperior board of revenue eſtabliſhed at Calcutta. In the leſſer diſtricts, let a Company's ſervant ſuperintend the collection of the revenue; and be accountable for his tranſactions to the board, under whoſe juriſdiction he acts.

Neceſſary reformations.

The wild chaos of government, if the abſence of all rule deſerves the name, which ſubſiſts in Bengal, muſt be utterly removed. There ſome faint traces of the Britiſh conſtitution is mixed with the poſitive orders of a Court

a Court of Directors, the convenient and temporary expedients of a trading governor and council, the secret orders of the select committee, the influence of the president, with the Nabob, and the boisterous despotism of Mahommed Riza. To separate, or even to restrain them within proper bounds, is beyond human capacity; some branches must be lopt off to give more vigour and room to others to flourish. Mubârick must retire from the Musnud; Mahommed Rizā and the secret committee vanish away; and even the council itself must be restrained from BREVI MANU despotism; such as, the sending home, by force, British subjects, and dismissing officers without the sentence of a court martial.

Judicial Power.

TO preserve the health of the political body, the pure stream of impartial justice must rush, with vigour, through every vein. When it meets with obstructions, a disease is produced; and, when the whole mass becomes corrupted, a languor succeeds, which frequently terminates in death. To drop the metaphor, the distributers of justice ought to be independent of every thing but the law. The executive part of government must not interfere with the decisions of the judge, otherwise that officer, who was created for the defence Reflection.

of

of the subject from injury, becomes a tool of oppression in the hands of despotism.

Various jurisdictions in Bengal.

The first principle of wise legislation is to open an easy passage to the temple of Justice. Where the seat of redress is either distant or difficult of access, an injury is forgot to avoid the trouble of complaint; and thus injustice is encouraged by the almost certain prospect of impunity. To avoid this evil, the Author of the Enquiry thinks it necessary, that the act of the legislature, which shall constitute the mode of distributing justice, should also divide Bengal and Behâr into five great provinces, the capitals of which ought to be Calcutta, Murshedabâd, and Dacca, in Bengal; and Patna and Mongeer, in Behâr. Let each of these five great divisions be subdivided into ten Chucklas, or extensive districts, almost the number of which the kingdom consists at present; and let each of these be still subdivided into an indefinite number of Pergunnas.

Constables and justices of the peace.

To bring justice, to use a certain author's words, home to the door of every man, let there, in each village, be established, as in the days of the empire, a Muckuddum, to act as a constable for the preservation of the peace. A Sheichdâr, with a commission similar to that of a justice of the peace, should be fixed in the most

7 centrical

centrical part of the Pergunna or leſſer diſtrict, to whom diſputes, which cannot be quaſhed by the authority of the Muckuddum or conſtable, may be referred. Let the court of this officer, however, communicate with another of a more extenſive and ample juriſdiction, eſtabliſhed in the capital of the diviſion or diſtrict, of which the Pergunna is a part.

Similar to the office of a Sheikdâr or juſtice of the peace, ought to be that of the Cutwâl or mayor of great towns and conſiderable cities. The wiſdom of the houſe of Timur eſtabliſhed this officer, to animadvert upon thieves, gamblers, and other miſcreants; to remove nuiſances, to ſuppreſs pimps and jugglers, to prevent foreſtalling of grain and other proviſions; to be the regulator of the market, and to decide in all trivial and vexatious diſputes, that tended toward a breach of the peace. His miniſterial office coincided almoſt with that of the mayors of our leſſer towns; and his court was the counterpart of the now obſolete CURIA PEDIS PULVERIZATI, mentioned by our lawyers. Cutwâl, or Mayor.

In every Chuckla, or greater diviſion, let there be eſtabliſhed a court ſimilar in its nature, but different in its mode, to the courts of Cutcherri, inſtituted in the days of the empire. Let this court be compoſed of the Company's Courts of Cutcherri.

Company's ſervant, reſiding for the collection of the revenue in the Chuckla, and of two Mahommed Cazis, and two Brahmins. The ſervant of the Company ought to be the nominal preſident of the court, but only to ſit when the voices are equal, to throw his caſting-vote on the ſide of equity. In ſuch a caſe the proceſs to begin anew. The fees of the court muſt be regulated, and a table of the expence of every article to be hung up to public view, in the common hall. The puniſhment for corruption, upon conviction in the ſupreme court of Bengal, ought to riſe to a degree of ſeverity, ſuitable to the danger of the crime.

Its juriſdiction. This court, beſides the power of hearing appeals from the deciſions of the Sheichdâr in the leſſer diſtricts, ought to retain its ancient authority, ſubject, however, to an appeal from deciſions beyond a ſum to be ſpecified, to the provincial courts, which ſhall be hereafter deſcribed. Its juriſdiction ought to extend to the contracting and diſſolving of marriages, to the ſettlement of doweries for women, and the ſucceſſion to money and moveables among children, according to the reſpective inſtitutes of the Mahommedan and Hindoo ſyſtems of religion. It ought alſo to be a court of record; and to be obliged to keep an exact regiſter of all public and private contracts, births, marriages, and deaths; and, to execute that department of the buſineſs, a Canongoe and a Muta-

a Mutaseddy, as clerks, ought to be annexed to each court. These, with other matters to be described in the succeeding section, ought to comprehend the whole power of the court of Cutcherri.

In each of the capitals of the five provinces, a member of the council of state at Calcutta ought to reside. He, together with possessing the management of the Company's commercial affairs in his province, ought to be empowered, by a special commission, with three assessors of the elder resident servants, to form, and preside in a court of justice, which we shall, for distinction, call, The provincial court of appeal. To direct their judgment upon points of law, an officer, under the name of Attorney-general for the province, ought to be appointed to give his advice, together with a Mahommedan Cazi, and an Indian Brahmin, to explain the principles of their respective institutions and usages, and to tender oaths to the parties. Suits may originate in this court; and it ought to have the power of removing before itself the proceedings of the court of Cutcherri. Provincial courts.

To establish thoroughly the independence of the judicial on the executive power, a supreme court, from which an appeal ought only to lie to Great Britain, should be erected at Calcutta, by the authority of the legislature. Supreme court, its civil

ture. Let it conſiſt of a chief juſtice and three *puiſné* juſtices, who derive their commiſſions from the king; and let them be in Bengal the counterpart of the court of king's bench in England. The juriſdiction of this court, which, from its tranſcendent power, may be called the ſupreme court of Bengal, ought to extend, without limitation, over the whole kingdom; and to keep the inferior courts, within the bounds of their authority; as well as to decide ultimately upon all appeals. It ought to protect the juſt rights of the ſubject, by its ſudden and even ſummary interpoſition; and to take cognizance of criminal as well as of civil cauſes.

and criminal juriſdiction.

To carry juſtice, in criminal matters, with all the expedition poſſible, through our conqueſts, it is propoſed, thas two of the *puiſné* juſtices ſhall, twice a-year, go on circuits, to the reſpective capitals of the five provinces, one into the three provinces in Bengal, and one into the two, into which Behâr is to be divided. The *puiſné* juſtice ſhall ſit, upon theſe occaſions, with the members of the provincial court; but the member of the council, who is the preſident of the court, ſhall ſtill be conſidered as the principal judge. In criminal matters, the culprit ſhall be tried by a jury of Britiſh ſubjects only; there being always a ſufficient number of good and lawful men to form a jury, in the

capital of the province. In the ſupreme court at Calcutta, diſputes between the natives may be decided in civil caſes, according to equity, without a jury, by the judges; but, in ſuits between Britiſh ſubjects, the matter ought to be tried by a jury, upon the principles of the law of England.

The ſole management of the revenue of Bengal, being in the Company, many capital alterations are neceſſary to be made in that important branch. The great channel of public juſtice has been, by the above regulations, ſeparated from the executive power; but ſome part of the judicial authority muſt ſtill remain in the Company's hands. To manage the receipts of the revenue, it has been already mentioned, that five boards muſt be formed, the ſuperior one of which to remain in Calcutta. The boards ought to conſiſt of two diviſions, or rather of two ſides; the receipt of the Exchequer, and the judicial part, which muſt enable them to inforce the payment of the revenues.

Court of exchequer,

The mode of proceeding in this branch ought to riſe in the ſame gradations with the courſe of appeals in the civil line of diſputes between man and man. Let the Cutcherries inforce the payment of the revenues of the Chucklas, under an appeal to the provincial board,

its juriſdiction

 whoſe

whoſe deciſions, beyond certain ſums, ought to be ſubject to the reviſion of the general board at Calcutta. But, as the ſtate muſt not ſuffer through delay, let the ſum in diſpute, upon a deciſion againſt the ſubject, by any of the courts of revenue before whom the ſuit ſhall originate, be forthwith paid into the exchequer; and let the perſon aggrieved ſeek for redreſs, by petition, to the court which is placed immediately above that court, of whoſe deciſion he complains.

confined as ſuch.

The board of revenue, in each of the capital cities of the five provinces, except in Calcutta, where no court of law except the ſupreme court exiſts, is to be made up of the ſame perſons whom we have already placed as judges in the provincial court of appeal. The court of exchequer, in England, examines, by a fiction, into all ſorts of civil cauſes. It is neceſſary to preclude the boards of revenue from ſuch powers, as a court of exchequer. As provincial courts of common law, their deciſions are liable to an appeal to the ſupreme court at Calcutta, and therefore any prejudices which they may be ſuppoſed to imbibe, as members of the executive part of government, cannot be of great detriment to the people, ſubject as their proceedings are to a court not amenable to the juriſdiction of the Company.

Obſervations

Obſervations on the Judicial Power.

THE deſpotiſm which naturally ſprung from the double government which aroſe on the foundation of the ſucceſs of our arms in Bengal, repreſſed one evil, whilſt it gave birth to a thouſand. Thoſe frequent diſputes which grow between individuals, where the acceſs to juſtice is eaſy, were quaſhed by a terror which prevented an unfortunate people from appearing before rulers who wanted but an excuſe to oppreſs. The hand of power fell heavy upon both the plaintiff and defendant; and, therefore, men put up with injuries from one another, in hopes of concealing themſelves from the rigid eyes of government. This alludes to the boiſterous tyranny of the miniſter of a nominal Nabob; indolence was more our crime, than cruelty. Reflections

The doors opened to juſtice in the preceding ſection, will, without doubt, introduce an ample harveſt for men of the law; but it is better that they ſhould live by litigiouſneſs, than that the people ſhould periſh by tyranny. The objection riſing from this circumſtance muſt therefore vaniſh in the utility of the thing; and another objection, juſt as obvious, may be as eaſily removed. It on what of their own laws

may be thought impolitic by ſome, that any part of the judicial authority ſhould remain in the hands of the natives. But this is objected in vain. The officers of juſtice, as well as being ſubject to a reviſion of their decrees to the Britiſh, derive from them their own power; and the people, by being left in poſſeſſion of ſome of their laws and uſages, will be flattered into an inviolable ſubmiſſion to our government.

ought to be left entire

Though the inhabitants of Bengal are, from their natural diſpoſition, prepared to ſubmit to any ſyſtem of government, founded upon juſtice, there are ſome laws of their own, which abſolute power itſelf muſt not violate. The regulations, with regard to their women and religion, muſt never be touched; and, upon mature conſideration, the Author of the Enquiry is of opinion, that many other ancient inſtitutions might be left entire. There are, however, particular uſages eſtabliſhed by time into a law, which our humanity muſt deſtroy. No pecuniary compenſation muſt be permitted for murder; no theft be puniſhed by cutting off the hand. Let the Mahommedan laws ſtill in force againſt the Hindoos be abrogated; let no women burn themſelves with their huſbands, no dying perſon be expoſed by his friends.

To

To leave the natives entirely to their own laws, would be to consign them to anarchy and confusion. The inhabitants of Bengal are divided into two religious sects, the Mahommedan and Hindoo, almost equal in point of numbers. Averse, beyond measure, to one another, both on account of religion and the memory of mutual injuries, the one party will not now submit to the laws of the other; and the dissention which subsists between individuals, would, without a pressure from another power, spread in a flame over the whole kingdom. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the peace and prosperity of the country, that the laws of England, in so far as they do not oppose prejudices and usages which cannot be relinquished by the natives, should prevail. The measure, besides its equity, is calculated to preserve that influence which conquerors must possess to retain their power.

to the natives.

The expence of the judicial establishment is but trivial, if compared to the advantages which the kingdom of Bengal must derive from such a necessary institution. The judges in every country should be placed in affluence; in Bengal they ought to derive a fortune from the labour of some years. The natives of a northern climate settle not for life in the torrid zone; they always place the prospect of returning with wealth to their friends, among

Expence of

among their great inducements for venturing to croſs the ocean. The following table preſents an eſtimate of the annual expence of juſtice in Bengal.

The Supreme Court of Bengal.

the ſupreme,

One chief juſtice, - -	£. 10,000
Three *puiſné* juſtices, - -	15,000
One attorney general, -	3,000
One regiſter, - - -	2,000
Two Cazis and two Brahmins, to attend the court, - -	0,400
Contingencies, - - -	1,000
	£. 31,400

the provincial,

The four provincial courts of appeal, conſiſting of the Company's ſervants.

Four counſellors, as preſidents,	£. 2,000
Twelve aſſeſſors, - - -	2,400
One provincial attorney in each,	2,000
One regiſter in each, - -	0,800
One Cazi and one Brahmin in each, - - -	0,800
Contingencies in all, - -	1,600
	£. 9,600

Fifty

Fifty courts of Cutcherri. and Cutcherri courts.

Fifty presidents, being servants of the Company, - -	£. 5,000
Two hundred assessors, - -	10,000
Fifty registers, - - -	1,500
Fifty Clerks, - - -	1,000
	£. 17,500
	£. 58,500

The above calculation, it is hoped, will not be thought extravagant, for dispensing justice to fifteen millions of people. The salaries of the members of the boards of revenue, and of these, as forming courts of exchequer, are not mentioned, as the Company is supposed to pay its own servants, with certain sums and lucrative privileges for the whole of their trouble. The Shiechdârs, the Cutwâls, and the Muckuddums, have no salaries; the influence and distinction which they shall derive from their employments, being a sufficient reward for their toil. Observation.

General Reflections on the Plan.

Reflections on the

PROPERTY being once established, and the forms of justice to protect it delineated, public prosperity is placed on a solid foundation. But the love of money, which generally prevails, renders the most of mankind more anxious to possess present profit, than to look forward to future advantage. The plan which we have laid down in the preceding sections, will begin to yield an apparent benefit from its commencement; at the same time that the tide will become the more rapid the longer it flows.

Immediate

The immediate pecuniary advantages which will rise to Bengal, are to be derived from various sources. The removal of the emperor, either to Patna or Mongeer, will save to the kingdom his pension of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; the revenues of the territory of Bulwant Singh, three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds to be spent in Bengal; and fifty thousand pounds, which is now sent abroad, without hopes of return, to pay three battalions of our troops, stationed at Allahabâd. This sum of six hundred and eighty-seven thousand pounds, thrown at once into the circulation, would animate the languid pulse

pulse of commerce; and at once prepare the kingdom for the commercial improvements, which the plan, in its other regulations, seems absolutely to ensure.

The future advantages arise also from various springs. The influx of specie and inhabitants, which the sale of the waste as well as of the cultivated lands, would draw from all the other provinces of Hindostan, would be productive of immediate national wealth. The advancement of agriculture would promote the advancement of manufactures. The peace of the country would be secured from abroad; and justice, by prevailing at home, would attach the natives to a government, on the stability of which the possession of their landed property depended. The establishment of a paper currency, on national faith and the Company's security, would enable mankind to bring all their property into action, lower the exorbitant interest of money, and render Bengal, in the space of a few years, the most commercial, the most flourishing, and the most wealthy kingdom, of its extent, in Asia.

and future advantages

The Company, in the midst of the prosperity of the subject, would amazingly thrive in their affairs. A sum not less than ten millions, independent of their revenue, would, in the space of four years, flow from the first sales of the

to be derived from the plan.

the land into their coffers. The improvement of their present revenue would join iffue, with its future certainty and permanency. A large annual fum would arife, from a thorough examination of tenures; and from impofts already laid upon fairs, markets, entrance into great towns, fhops, magazines of grain, fees upon marriages, tolls collected at ferries, licences for exercifing trades, ground-rent of houfes, which though at prefent paid by the public, have never been brought to account by Mahommed Riza and the general farmers. Thefe articles, at the loweft average, might amount to the annual fum of four hundred thoufand pounds. Five hundred thoufand pounds would yearly be faved in penfions, and on the charge of collection; befides, the immenfe encreafe in the revenues, which would moft certainly be derived from the growing profperity of the kingdom.

Concluding

The abfolute eftablifhment of property, without which written law feems fuperfluous to fociety, is, as has been obferved, the foundation upon which national profperity is laid. Regulations which ftop fhort of this primary object, are only temporary expedients, which may, for a time, alleviate the pain of the diftemper, but it can never cure. A tacit acquiefcence in the right of poffeffion of the natives, the prevention of

fome

ſome part of the preſent national waſte, a mild deſpotiſm, which we may dignify with the name of Juſtice, will have an immediate good effect; but the advantage is limited, partial, and tranſient; and the Author of the Enquiry will venture to affirm, that, unleſs ſomething ſimilar to what has been, in the preceding ſections, propoſed, is adopted, Bengal will, in the courſe of a few years, decline into a ſhadow, and vaniſh from our hands.

Miracles are not to be expected in this age; and, without them, in the abſence of a bold and determined exertion, the boaſted fruits of our victories in the Eaſt, will wither with our laurels. A kingdom, lying under all the diſadvantages of a foreign conqueſt, which, without return, deprives it of one million and an half of its annual induſtry, muſt ſink under the weight, unleſs it is placed on a better footing than the ſurrounding countries which pay no tribute. Let our juſtice to our own ſubjects, let the advantages of our regulations, entice foreigners with their wealth to ſettle among us; let us, without the ſword, appropriate the wealth of India by our policy; otherwiſe the ſtream which flows into Great Britain, will ſoon become dry. The lake, which feeds it, has already diſappeared from the banks. Temporary regulations may dazzle with their imme- reflection.

diate effect; but a permanent plan, which in its wide circle comprehends futurity, will preserve the vigour and health of Bengal, to the verge of that political death, to which all empires seem to be subjected by Fate.

Concluding Reflections.

Present

ARGUMENTS deduced from general principles, however obvious they may appear, strike not the bulk of mankind so forcibly as facts. The revenues of Bengal, without including the Jagieers, amounted, in the year 1766, to near three millions and six hundred thousand pounds of our money. The charges of collection, the Nabob's government, pensions, civil, military, and marine expences, being deducted, there remained a balance of one million three hundred thousand pounds, for the Company. The expences have since been encreasing yearly, and the revenues decreasing. Both were hastening to that middle point, which would balance the accounts of the British nation, with the fortune of their arms in the East.

ruinous state

To conceal this decrease as much as possible, men fell on a very shallow and poor expedient. The servants of the Company protracted the time of closing the

the accounts to make up the uſual ſum; and, by theſe means, an encroachment of five months was, by degrees, made upon the ſucceeding year. To underſtand this circumſtance, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the collections are not fixed to a particular term. They are continued without intermiſſion, and the produce of the five months, which may amount to one million five hundred thouſand pounds, muſt be deducted from the accounts made up, ſince the Dewanny was ſubmitted to our management.

Notwithſtanding this deception, it was not the only deficiency in the ſtate of money affairs. The revenues of the year 1769 had, beſides, fallen ſhort five hundred thouſand pounds; and what further reduction the famine which enſued may have made, time can only demonſtrate. By the beſt accounts from Bengal, there was not a balance of five hundred thouſand pounds remaining, after all expences were paid; and this was not above half the ſum neceſſary to purchaſe the annual inveſtments of the Company. No fair concluſion, however, can be drawn from the produce of one year; and the vigilance of the Court of Directors has ſince eſtabliſhed ſome beneficial regulations. To flatter the ſanguine, we will ſuppoſe, that the net balance will amount, on the preſent footing, to one million. The ſum

of the revenue.

fum is juft fufficient for the inveftments of the Company; without leaving a fingle farthing in the treafury to anfwer any extraordinary emergency.

Obvious

The advantages of the propofed plan are obvious; and, therefore, eafily explained. Let it be fuppofed, that the rent-roll of the year 1766 fhall be taken as the rule of the quit-rent to be paid, after the fale of the lands. Let none think this fum too much. Under the management of the proprietors, the lands would in a few years produce, thrice the fum of three millions fix hundred thoufand pounds; but the fubject muft receive a bribe for his induftry. The Company, at prefent, complain, that the Talookdârs, or thofe who poffefs lands in property, run away with all the tenants. Their eftates are flourifhing, whilft our limited policy of letting the lands by the year, has created folitudes around. After a thorough examination of fictitious tenures, private encroachments and public embezzlements, we may, with great propriety, venture to add, at leaft one million to the above fum. But to fpeak with a moderation which precludes reply, we fhall only take it for granted, that four hundred thoufand pounds are, by thefe means, only gained. Even this fum will fix the annual revenue at four millions; and there let it reft till the profperity of the country fhall authorife an encreafe, by flight impofts on trade and the articles of confumption.

The

The abolition of the tyrannical and impolitic government of the Nabob, will be a ſaving of five hundred thouſand pounds on the annual expences. The fact is notorious, that the real expence of this ſecondary and intermediate government, in penſions and in the mode of collection, exceeds ſix hundred thouſand pounds; but the judicial and fiſcal ſyſtems eſtabliſhed in the preceding plan will not exceed one hundred thouſand pounds, with all the advantages of a ſalutary and equitable adminiſtration of juſtice and law. To this ſum we may add the five hundred thouſand pounds which have fallen off from the revenue, as the firſt-fruits of the plan; all which, ſuppoſing the expences of the civil, military, and marine departments to remain as at preſent, would make an annual difference of one million four hundred thouſand pounds, in favour of the Company. The inveſtments of the Company might in that caſe be increaſed, yet leave a ſum for the treaſury in Calcutta for emergencies. Advantages

The treaſury, however, ought not to be too rich, leſt circulation ſhould deaden in the kingdom. Two millions in ſpecie would be ſufficient. To employ the ſurplus to advantage, together with the ten millions, which are ſuppoſed to ariſe from the ſale of the lands, a bank ought to be eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of lending out ſums of money, not exceeding three years purchaſe on landed ſecurity to the Proprietors, at the intereſt of ſeven per centum. The land-holders would be, by theſe of the preceding

means, enabled to raiſe the neceſſary ſums, at leſs than half the intereſt which they now pay; and the Company would have good ſecurity for their advances. Let us ſuppoſe, that, in the courſe of a few years, ten millions were lent upon theſe terms, that ſum would produce an annual intereſt of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; which, upon the whole plan, makes a yearly balance, in favour of the Company, of TWO MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS MORE THAN THEY AT PRESENT RECEIVE, excluſive of a PRODIGIOUS and GROWING TREASURE; and the moderate impoſts which may be hereafter laid on articles of luxury.

Plan. The Plan, to ſpeak the leaſt its favour, is practicable in its great and general line. It would produce, even partially followed, immenſe, ſudden, and permanent advantages; but no human foreſight can abſolutely eſtimate the preciſe ſums. Though the Author of the Enquiry has not the vanity to ſuppoſe that his ſcheme is, in all its branches, infallible, he will venture to pledge himſelf to his country, that, ſhould the more material parts of his ſyſtem be adopted, the advantages to be derived from it would not fall ſhort of his calculations. His knowledge of the kingdom of Bengal, and its various reſources, gives him a confidence on this ſubject, to which he is not intitled by his abilities.

THE

HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

CONTENTS.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. I.

OBservations—Death of Akbâr—Accession of Selim, by the name of JEHANGIRE*—Rebellion of Sultan Chusero—Battle of Lahore—Chusero's misfortunes—Rebellion quashed—Executions—War with Persia—A conspiracy* Page 1

CHAP. II.

Disturbances in Bengal—Story of Chaja Aiass—His flight from Tartary—Distress in the desart—Birth of the Sultana Noor-Mâhil—Marriage with Shere Afkun—Persecution—and murder of that Omrah—Her marriage with the emperor—Promotion of her family 19

CHAP. III.

Prudent administration—Insurrections quelled—Bad success in the Decan—Emperor's progress to Ajmere.—Peace with the Rana—Prince Churrum in favour—Character of Sultan Purvez—An English ambassador—His reception at Ajmere—Transactions at court—Power of the Sultana—Progress to Mando—To Guzerat—The emperor's return to Agra—Death and character of the Visier 34

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Disposition of the court—Expedition to Sewalic—The emperor in Cashmire—Disturbances in the Decan—Prince Chusero murdered—Rebellion of Shaw Jehân—He is repulsed at Agra—Defeated at Delhi—Pursued by his brother Purvez—Defeated at the Nirbidda—He reduces Orixa, Bengal and Behar—He marches toward the capital—Totally defeated by Purvez—Besieges Brampour—In great distress—His submission Candahar lost to the empire 56

CHAP. V.

Mohâbet in favour—Accused of intended treason—Ordered to court—Machinations of his enemies—Indignities offered him—He resolves to seize the emperor—He takes him in his tent—Defeats the Visier—Condemns the Sultana to death—But pardons her—Governs the empire—Attacked by the citizens of Cabul—He lays down his power—Obliged to fly—Sent against Shaw Jehân—Death of prince Purvez—His character—Death of Chan Chanan — 81

CHAP. VI.

Schemes of Mohâbet and Asiph—Death of the emperor—His character—Anecdotes of his private life—His religion—His violence—Severe justice—and humanity—The son of prince Chusero raised to the throne—Defeat of Shariâr—Shaw Jehân marches from the Decan—Young emperor deposed, and murdered—Children of Jehangire—State of Persia 100

SHAW

CONTENTS.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. I.

REflections—Accession of Shaw Jehân—Promotions—The emperor's children—State of the empire with regard to foreign powers—Incursion of the Usbecs—War in Bundelcund—Disgrace—Tragical story—and flight of Chan Jehân Lodi—Death and character of Shaw Abâs of Persia—Emperor's march to the Decan—War in Golconda and Tellingana—Irruption of the Afgans—The visier Asiph takes the field 113

CHAP. II.

The Visier commands the army—Defeat of the confederates—Flight, misfortunes, and death of Lodi—Progress of the war in the Decan—Death of the favourite Sultana—A famine—Peace in the Decan—Emperor returns to Agra—Persecution of Idolaters—War with the Portugueze—Their factory taken—Raja of Bundela reduced and slain—Marriages of the princes Dara and Suja—War in the Decan—Golconda reduced—Death of Mohâbet—Affairs at court 136

CHAP. III.

Emperor's expedition to the Decan—Reduction of that country—Death of Chan Zimân—An insurrection in Behar—Quelled—Candahar restored to the empire—Invasion from Assâm—Reduction of Tibet—Oppressive governors punished—Prince Suja narrowly escapes from the flames of Rajamâhil—An embassy to Constantinople—Calamities in the northern provinces—Death and character of Asiph Jâh—Tirbiet punished for oppression—An invasion threatened from Persia—Interrupted by the death of Shaw Sefi 156

CHAP. IV.

Reflections—Emperor arrives at Agra—Incidents at court—Incursions of the Usbecs—Aurungzêbe removed from the Decan—Sadulla Chan made visier—Buduchshân invaded by the Moguls—Death and character of Noor Jehân—Balick reduced—Prince Morâd disgraced—Aurungzêbe defeats the Usbecs—Who submit to the empire—Emperor jealous of his sons—Arrival at Delhi—Persians take Candahâr—Aurungzêbe besieges it in vain—Defeats the Persians—Usbecs of Balick claim the Emperor's aid—Candahâr again besieged to no purpose—Emperor returns to Agra—Promotions 177

CHAP. V.

Dara's jealousy of Aurungzêbe—His bad success before Candahâr—Raised to a part of the Imperial power—Rebellion of the Rana—Rise and character of Jumla—Death of the Visier—War in Golconda—Exploits of Mahommed the son of Anrungzêbe—War and reduction of Bijapour—Sickness of the emperor—Too great violence of Dara—Emperor removes to Agra—Recovers—Dara in high favour—Carries all before him at court 198

CHAP. VI.

Cause of the civil war—Character of the emperor's sons—Dara—Suja—Aurungzêbe—Morâd—Suja takes the field—Defeated by Solimân the son of Dara—Morâd rebels in Guzerat—Aurungzêbe in the Decan—Marches to Brampour—Battle of the Nirbidda—Preparations and obstinacy of Dara—Opposes Aurungzêbe—Totally defeated near Agra—Reflections 215

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VII.

Reflections—Dara appears before his father—His flight to Delhi—The army deserts Solimân Sheko—Shaista Chan condemned to death—Rescued—The confederate princes appear before Agra—Aurungzebe writes to his Father—Conference between him and the princess Jehanâra—His artful conduct—By stratagem seizes the citadel and the emperor—Deceives Morad—Marches with him in pursuit of Dara—Seizes and imprisons Morad—Pursues Dara—Mounts the throne at Delhi—Reflections on his conduct—The news of his accession brought to Shaw Jehân—Character of that prince 239

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. I.

REflections—Misfortunes of Solimân Shekô—His flight to Serinagûr—Distress, irresolution, and flight of Dara—He quits the Suttuluz—the Bea—and Lahore—Aurungzêbe returns—Preparations and march of Suja—Approach of Aurungzêbe—The battle of Kidgwâ—Defeat and flight of Suja—Unaccountable conduct of the Marâja—His flight—Aurungzêbe arrives at Agra—Writes to his father 269

CHAP. II.

Dara's flight to Bicker—He crosses the desert—Gains the governor of Guzerat—Marches toward Agra—Fortifies himself at Ajmere—Deceived—Attacked—and totally defeated by Aurungzebe—His unheard-of misfortunes—Distress in the desert—Arrival at Tatta—Throws himself under the protection of Jihon—Death of the Sultana—Dara betrayed—Carried with ignominy through Delhi—Confined at Chizerabad—Assassinated—Reflections. 290

CONTENTS.

CHAP. III.

War against Suja—He is driven from Mongeer—and Raja-Mahil—The prince Mahommed deserts to Suja—A mutiny in the army—Quelled by the Visier—Battle of Tanda—Artifice of Aurungzêbe—Mahommed leaves Suja—His imprisonment and character—Suja driven from Bengal—His flight through the mountains of Tippera—Arrival at Arracan—Perfidy, avarice, and cruelty of the Raja—Misfortunes—resolution—bravery—and murder of Suja—Deplorable fate of his family—Reflections 316

CHAP. IV.

Prudent administration of Aurungzêbe—Observations on his conduct—His behaviour toward his second son—Solimân Shekô betrayed by the Raja of Serinagur—He flies—is taken—brought to Delhi—and imprisoned—An embassy from Persia—Shaw Allum declared heir-apparent—A famine—Wise and humane conduct of the emperor—War in the Decan—Aurungzêbe falls sick—Distractions at Delhi—Intrigues of Shaw Allum—Recovery of the emperor—He demands the daughter of Dara—and the Imperial jewels from Shaw Jehân—but is refused—His art to appease his father—Promotions 333

CHAP. V.

Recovery of the emperor—Progress to Cashmire—Disturbances in Guzerat—Conquest of Assam—Death and character of Meer Jumla—Insurrection of Fakiers—quelled—An universal peace—Death of the prince Mahommed—War with Sewaji—Death of the emperor Shaw Jehân—Anecdotes of his private life—Grief of Aurungzebe—Strange conduct and flight of Sewaji—The Maraja discontented—War against Arracan—Chittagong reduced 353

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

Origin of the quarrel with Persia—Conduct of Shaw Abâs—Aurungzêbe endeavours to appease him—He prepares for war—Writes a letter to the Visier—which is intercepted—The emperor suspects the Persian nobles—A proclamation—A massacre threatened—Consternation at Delhi—The princess Jehanâra arrives from Agra to appease the Persians—The Visier exculpates himself—The Persian nobility received into favour—March of the emperor—Death and character of Shaw Abâs—Peace with Persia—Revolt of the prince Shaw Allum—He returns to his duty—War with the Afgans—Magnificent reception of the king of Bucharia 374

CHAP. VII.

Observations—Education of Eastern princes—Genius of Aurnugzêbe—His attention to justice—Contempt of pomp—Austerity—Clemency—Knowledge—Public buildings—Encouragement to letters—Charity—Skill in war—Learning—Manly exercises—Continence—Accessibleness—Amusements—Ceremonies of reception—Creation of nobles—Business of the morning—noon—and evening—Observations 393

APPENDIX.

NUMB.

I. *Tenor of a Nabob's Firmân* 407

II. *A Dewan's commission* 408

III. *Tenor of a Jagieer* 409

IV. *A Firman granting lands to a Zemindar* 410

V. *The tenor of a Cazi's Firmân* 411

VI. *Tenor of a Cutwal's Firmân* 412

VII. *Commission or Perwanna for a Carkum or Chief of a district* 413

VIII. *Commission or Purwanna for a Crorie* 414

IX. *Commission of a Fotadâr or treasurer of a district* 415

Glossary to the Appendix 416

ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the Author of this volume derives by far the greatest part of his facts from Eastern writers, he has not overlooked the interrupted glimpses of the transactions in the Mogul empire, preserved by intelligent Europeans, who travelled, the last century, into India. He relies upon their authority with regard to what they had *seen*. He prefers the accounts of domestic writers, to what they only *heard*. He draws his information chiefly from the following authors; and the originals are, at this moment, in his hands.

I. MIRAT UL WARIDAT; or, THE MIRROR OF OCCURRENCES, written by MAHOMMED SHUFFIA of Delhi. He undertook the work at the request of Byram Chan, in the reign of Mahommed Shaw. He professes his book to be a continuation of the work of Ferishta; and it contains a compendious history of the Mogul Empire, from the death of Akbâr, to the invasion of Nadir Shaw.

II. JEHANGIRE NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR JEHANGIRE. By MATIMID CHAN of Delhi.

III. SHAW JEHAN NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR SHAW JEHAN. By MIRZA CASIM, the son of MIRZA AMIN, private secretary to Aurungzêbe. Our Author succeeded his father in that office.

IV. ROSE NAMMA; or, A Journal of the first Ten Years of Aurungzêbe. By the same Writer.

V. ALLUMGIRE NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF ALLUMGIRE or AURUNGZEBE. By the same. This work is little more than an abridgment of the above.

VI. MIRAT ALLUM; or, THE MIRROR OF THE WORLD. By NAZIR BUCHTAR CHAN, a man of letters, who led a private life near Feridâbad, within a few miles of Agra. This work contains the history of the first Ten Years of Aurungzêbe.

THE

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. I.

Observations——Death of Akbar——Accession of Selim, by the name of JEHANGIRE*——Rebellion of Sultan Chusero——Battle of Lahore——Chusero's misfortunes——Rebellion quashed——Executions——War with Persia——A conspiracy.*

THE great abilities of Akbar confirmed the house of Timur on the throne, and established tranquillity over all their vast conquests in India. Vigorous in his measures, without tyranny, he impressed the minds of men with awe, and checked that spirit of discord and private ambition, which had prevailed in more feeble reigns. Government becoming settled and uniform in its regulations, the arts of civil life began to increase and flourish, among a people naturally industrious and ingenious. The splendor of the court, the wealth of individuals, created a A. D. 1605. Higer. 1014. General

A. D. 1605. Hig. 1014.

general taſte for pomp and magnificence; and the crowded levees of the great, where all endeavoured to excel in the art of pleaſing, rendered the Indians equal in politeneſs to the nations of Europe. Learning was not unknown, if we exclude the abſtruſe ſciences. The Arabian and Brahmin ſyſtems of philoſophy were ſtudied; and the powers of the mind were generally cultivated and improved.

obſervations.

This character of civilization, it muſt be confeſſed, tallies not with the political conduct of the people. But neceſſity and ſelf-preſervation make a kind of apology for crimes under deſpotiſm, which would be unpardonable in a community governed by general and known laws. In ſtates ſubject to arbitrary government, there is no ſecurity, no honour, no independence in private life. The nation is divided into two ſorts of people, the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed. Every man of ſpirit, of family, and of fortune, muſt, in ſelf-defence, endeavour to poſſeſs a ſhare of the government under which he was born. When he ſtarts forth from obſcurity, he muſt adopt the political principles of his country, or be ruined in all his ſchemes, however repugnant theſe principles may be to the general dictates of humanity, and the particular diſpoſition of his own mind. The greateſt virtues therefore are often blended with the worſt vices; and this circumſtance gives a variety and ſtrength of feature to Aſiatic characters, unknown in the ſettled governments of the weſt.

Extent and revenues of the empire.

Though the empire of the Mahommedans in India was not ſo extenſive under Akbar as it had been under ſome princes of the Patan Dynaſty, it comprehended a vaſt tract of country, divided into twenty-two provinces; each equal to ſome kingdoms in wealth, fertility and extent *. A ſmall part only of the Decan or ſourthern peninſula of India had been con-

* Kandahar, Ghizni, Cabal, Caſhmire, Lahore, Moultân, Outch, Sindi, Ajmere, Sirhind, Delhi, Duâb, Agra, Allahabad, Oud, Behâr, Bengal, Oriſſa, Malava, Berâr, Chandeiſh, Guzerat.

quered:

quered: yet the dominions of the family of Timur, in their northern and ſouthern frontiers, fell under the thirty-ſixth and nineteenth parallels of latitude; and they extended themſelves, from eaſt to weſt, about twenty-five degrees. The revenues, according to the Imperial regiſter, were thirty-two millions ſterling, received in the exchequer, excluſive of the cuſtomary preſents, and the eſtates of the officers of the crown, which at their death reverted to the emperor, and amounted, at a medium, to twenty millions more of our money. Theſe immenſe ſums were expended in maintaining an army of three hundred thouſand horſe, as many of foot, in ſupport of the ſplendor of the court, and in the ſalaries of civil officers. A. D. 1605. Hig. 1014.

When the indiſpoſition of the emperor Akbar rendered him incapable of attending to public buſineſs, the whole weight of government fell on Chan Azim, the Viſier. Selim, Akbar's only ſurviving ſon, notwithſtanding the diſputes which he had formerly with his father, was ſtill looked upon as the heir of the empire. But the Viſier's daughter being married to Chuſero, the eldeſt ſon of Selim, that miniſter was deſirous of placing the reins of government in the hands of his ſon-in-law. He was ſupported in this ſcheme by many of the nobles; the moſt enterprizing and powerful of whom was Raja Man Singh, whoſe ſiſter was the mother of Chuſero. The Raja, from the antiquity of his family, and his own addreſs, commanded all the Hindoo intereſt in the empire; and he had, at that very time, twenty thouſand of his native ſubjects of the Rajaput tribe in and near the environs of the capital, prepared to execute his orders. Selim being apprized of the powerful confederacy againſt him, waited upon his father Akbar, two days before his death, and laid before him all their ſchemes. The emperor called them to his preſence, reprimanded them ſeverely; and having publicly acknowledged Selim his law- Intrigues againſt Sultan Selim.

 ful

A. D. 1605. Hig. 1014.

ful ſucceſſor in the empire, obliged the confederate lords to pay him homage, and to promiſe to ſupport his title.

His acceſſion to the throne.

On the ſixteenth of the ſecond Jemmâd, in the year of the Higera one thouſand and fourteen, the illuſtrious Akbar expired at Agra, amid the tears of his ſubjects; who loved him as their father, admired him as their leader, and feared him as their prince. The promiſe extorted by the emperor from the Viſier and Man Singh in favour of Selim, had no effect on their conduct. He was no ſooner dead than they aſſembled their party in the houſe of the former, and renewed their deliberations in favour of Chuſero, in prejudice of his father. Selim in the mean time was not idle. He convened all his friends in his own palace. Things remained in ſuſpenſe for ſome hours. Ferid Bochari, who commanded the city-guards, took at length a ſpirited reſolution. He ordered the gates to be ſhut, to prevent any troops from entering the city; and, taking the keys in his hand, haſtened to the palace of Selim. He preſented them on his knees, and ſaluted him emperor. All preſent followed his example. The news ſoon reached the houſe of the Viſier. The party of Chuſero was ſtruck with a ſudden panic. They broke up from council, and made all poſſible haſte to pay their reſpects to the new ſovereign. The Viſier took care not to be the laſt. The hopes of Chuſero were daſhed in a moment. He was ſeized with fear, and fled down the river in a ſmall canoe, with Raja Man Singh, and concealed himſelf in that prince's houſe till he obtained a pardon from his father. Ferid, for this ſignal ſervice, was advanced to the rank of paymaſter-general of the forces, by the title of Murtaza Chan; and many other diſtinguiſhing honours were at the ſame time conferred upon him.

His titles and age.

Selim was born at Sikri, near Agra, on Wedneſday the ſeventeenth of the ſecond Ribbi, in the nine hundredth and ſeventy-

ſeventh

A. D. 1605. Hig. 1014.

ſeventh year of the Higera. The moſt remarkable event of Selim's life, before his acceſſion, was, his diſobedience to his father's orders, rather than his rebellion againſt him, about two years prior to that monarch's death. Inſolent at firſt, he refuſed to return to his duty, and was once actually at the head of ſeventy thouſand men. Upon the death of the prince Daniâl, he, however, ſubmitted, having then a nearer proſpect of the throne; Akbar having upbraided him for his diſobedience at firſt, and his puſillanimity afterwards, for throwing himſelf upon an enraged ſovereign's mercy, when he was at the head of a great army, received him into favour. When Selim took the reins of government in his hands, he aſſumed the titles of Noor-ul-dien Mahommed JEHANGIRE, or Mahommed the Light of the Faith and CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD. He dated the commencement of his reign from the twentieth of the ſecond Jemmâd 1014, which anſwers to the 21ſt of October 1605, being then in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. Akbar was interred with great pomp at Secundra, near Agra; and the minds of men were diſtracted between grief and joy, funeral ſolemnity, and the feſtivity attending upon the acceſſion of a new ſovereign.

His prudent and wiſe adminiſtration.

Chan Azim, the diſcontented Viſier, and the Raja Man Singh, were ſo formidable in the empire, that Jehangire thought it moſt prudent to accept of the offered allegiance of both, and to confirm them in their reſpective honours and governments, without animadverſion upon their late conduct. Man Singh was diſpatched to his ſubaſhip of Bengal; Chan Azim to that of Malava. The prince Chuſero made his appearance at court; and his father, after a ſevere reprimand, took him at laſt into favour. The emperor in the mean time began his reign by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and by a minute inſpection into the finances and reſources of the ſtate. He iſſued a public edict to confirm all the

laws

A. D. 1605. Hig. 1014.

laws and regulations in force. Many ſubas were removed from their reſpective governments into other provinces: ſome were diſmiſſed to make room for the emperor's abettors and friends. The deprived governors repaired to court to reſtore themſelves, by money and intrigue, to their former dignities. Some ſucceeded in their views: others were reduced to deſpair, through want of ſucceſs. The latter began to form treaſonable deſigns to recover the conſequence and power which they had loſt.

A conſpiracy in favour of his ſon Chuſero;

To accompliſh their purpoſe, the diſcontented lords turned their eyes upon Chuſero, and hoped, by his means, to effect a revolution in the ſtate. They pretended to have the greateſt attachment to his perſon: they magnified the number of his friends, and his own merit. They rouzed his ambition by the praiſe of paſt actions, and animated it by the fair proſpect of preſent ſucceſs. But what had moſt weight with the prince, they intimidated him with pretended diſcoveries of the deſigns of his father againſt his life. The ſecrecy neceſſary to be obſerved in all arduous undertakings againſt deſpotic governments, rendered it difficult for Chuſero to know the true ſtate of things. The ſpies, whom the emperor had placed around him, in the mean time, increaſed, and confirmed his fears. Ambition, aided by timidity, at length prevailed over filial duty. He plunged therefore into danger, to take immediate poſſeſſion of a throne, which he was born one day to mount, without the doubtful fortune of the ſword.

who rejects a propoſal of aſſaſſination.

Chan Azim, and the Raja Man Singh, had the addreſs not to appear openly in the conſpiracy. They were, however, known to be the life and ſupport of the whole. They were ſtill under the cloud of the emperor's diſpleaſure, which, at a convenient ſeaſon, might burſt on their heads. The prince being ſo far involved in the plot, it would be dangerous for him to recede: and they,

 juſtly

justly considering the improbability of success by open force against the Imperial power, proposed the more speedy expedient of assassinating Jehangire. The proposal came to the ears of the prince. Though he was bent upon rebellion, he startled at parricide. Nature was rouzed in his breast. "My father," said he, "may enjoy life without a throne; but I can never enjoy a throne stained with a father's blood. Let him try the fortune of the field. Let us throw away the daggers of assassins, and owe our advancement to our swords." A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

The conspirators pretended to applaud the noble sentiments of the prince: but they, from that instant, were irresolute and embarrassed in their councils. Many, violent at the beginning, now awed by the greatness of the undertaking, shrunk back from their purpose, and began to shelter themselves behind one another. The emperor, in the mean time, was in part informed of the plot. He prepared to seize the prince: the latter was apprized of his father's designs. By a premature discovery, this conspiracy, like many of the same kind, failed. Fear took possession of the adherents of Chusero. He himself was afraid. They neglected to execute the daring stroke, which their situation and safety required. They began to remove themselves from immediate danger, as if the present were more to be feared than those which in future they had to oppose. They, however, did not altogether relinquish their designs. The plot discovered.

On Monday the eight of Zehidge, six months after the accession of Jehangire to the throne of India, near one hundred of the conspirators assembled privately, in the evening, at the tomb of the emperor Akbar. Chusero having joined them, on pretence of paying his devotions at his grandfather's shrine, they proceeded, that very night, toward Delhi. About day-break, next morning, they had reached the city of Muttra, about thirty-eight miles from First rising.

Agra;

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

Agra; and entered the town, when the troops, who garrifoned the place, were on the parade. They halted for refrefhment; and they had the good fortune not to be fufpected by the officer who commanded at Muttra. Huffein Beg Chan Buduchfhi, who had been governor of the province of Cabul during a confiderable part of the former reign, being turned out of his office by the emperor, was on his way to court. Having travelled in the night on account of the heat of the weather, he happened to enter the city of Muttra at the oppofite gate juft when the prince arrived. They met in the market-place. Chufero was no ftranger to the difcontent of Huffein; and efteeming him a great acquifition to his party, from his known bravery and popularity among the Tartars, who formed a great part of the imperial army, he called him afide, and having founded him, laid open his whole plan. Huffein being confcious of no crime againft the ftate, thought himfelf highly injured by Jehangire. Poffeffed of no property but the fword, from the generofity of his difpofition, which had lavifhed his fortune upon his friends, he required not much intreaty to efpoufe the caufe of the prince.

Chufero marches to Delhi.

The retinue of Huffein was but fmall. It confifted of two hundred Tartar horfe, and three hundred Afgan foot. But his military fame was great; and he gave life to the confpiracy. The prince endeavoured to bring over the governor of Muttra to his party. That officer, perceiving his intentions, fhut himfelf up in the citadel, and would liften to no terms. Chufero had neither time nor force to reduce him. He contented himfelf with enlifting as many as he could of the inhabitants and garrifon into his fervice; and, leaving Muttra, continued his route to Delhi.

Ravages the country.

The road between the two great cities of Delhi and Agra being crowded with travellers, and detachments of horfe and foot going

on different ſervices, the prince forced them to join his ſtandard. Thoſe who refuſed were, without mercy, put to the ſword, after being plundered of all their effects. Small parties of horſe were at the ſame time diſperſed through the country on every ſide; and ſuch as did not immediately take up arms in favour of Chuſero were ſubmitted to military execution, and all the ſeverities of war. Many were compelled to join him, through fear. Others, from the ſame cauſe, fled into the woods; and ſaw from their retreats the ſmoke of their burning houſes, and mourned over their infants and aged parents, who had not ſtrength to avoid the flames. Some more reſolute defended themſelves againſt the rebels, and to their valour owed their lives. The orders of the prince, it muſt be owned, did not extend to ſuch rigour and cruelty. But he found it impoſſible to reſtrain from exceſſes his undiſciplined ſoldiers. He had ſet them an example of wickedneſs by rebellion; and it was not to be expected that they would ſubmit to his commands in favour of humanity and juſtice. A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

Such was the waſteful progreſs of Chuſero to Delhi. His followers having greatly increaſed their numbers in the march, he laid the ſuburbs of that capital under contribution. The gates being ſhut, the city itſelf was preſerved from pillage. The unfortunate people who lived without the walls, from their delay in raiſing the ſum impoſed upon them, had their houſes conſumed with fire. Many thouſands were ruined. Many, to retrieve their affairs, joined the rebels, to make repriſals upon the world for the loſs which they had ſuſtained. Lays the ſuburbs of Delhi under contributions.

At eleven o'clock of the ſame night on which Chuſero left Agra, his father was informed of his flight by the captain-general, who was ordered to purſue immediately the fugitive. About an hour after The emperor purſues Chuſero,

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015. after this officer's departure with a confiderable body of horfe, the emperor, fufpecting his loyalty, difpatched his commands to him to return. Ferid Bochari, lately raifed to the dignity of Murtaza Chan, and to the office of paymafter-general of the forces, was difpatched upon that fervice, with an additional number of troops. The whole under Ferid amounted to ten thoufand horfe, which greatly retarded his march. Chufero, of courfe, had the more time to harafs the country, and to ftrengthen himfelf. In the morning, as foon as day-light appeared, the emperor mounted his horfe; and having affembled all the forces in and near Agra, leaving a fufficient garrifon in the place, marched with a great army toward Delhi. He was, upon the occafion, heard to repeat a verfe, which implied, "That fortune depended upon expedition more than on counfel; and that his life fhould be darkened who put off till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day." The undutiful behaviour of a fon, whom he loved, was a fevere ftroke to his mind. He refufed to eat or drink, or to take reft for fome time; and even opium, to which he was much addicted, he declined.

who takes the route of Lahore.

The governor and inhabitants of Delhi, having recovered from the firft impreffions which the fudden arrival and ravages committed by Chufero had made upon their minds, prepared for a refolute defence. Some troops, who were ftationed in different parts of the country, had thrown themfelves into the town. As there was a confiderable quantity of the Imperial treafure lodged in the city, as well as the great wealth of private perfons, the intentions of the prince were to have furprized Delhi, and to furnifh himfelf with money fufficient to raife an army in the province of Punjâb. But the general terror which his rapacity had excited carried the news of his march before him, and difappointed his defigns. Defpairing of being able to force Delhi to furrender

before

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

before the arrival of the Imperial army, having remained only two days in the ſuburbs, Chuſero took the route of Lahore. Having been, on his march, joined by a great number of men, he attempted, immediately upon his arrival, to take that city by eſcalade. He was repulſed with ſome loſs by the garriſon; and being at the ſame time deſtitute of artillery, he was greatly diſconcerted in his meaſures. He, however, inveſted the place.

He is defeated by Ferid Bochari.

The Imperial troops ſtationed in the province threw themſelves into Lahore. They ſallied out on the beſiegers nine ſucceſſive days, but they were as often repulſed, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves behind their walls. Chuſero in the mean time had drawn together ſome artillery from ſmall fortreſſes in the neighbourhood, which he had found means to ſurpriſe. Nothing could be effected againſt the place before the arrival of Ferid, the paymaſter-general, with the emperor's advanced guard. The prince, with an army of thirty thouſand horſe and foot, but without order, without diſcipline, marched out of his camp to give battle to Ferid. The garriſon of Lahore perceiving his motions, fell upon his rear. He left a part of his army to oppoſe them: With the remaining part he attacked Ferid. His troops behaved better than their diſcipline ſeemed to promiſe. He expoſed his own perſon. He was at length deſerted; and, preſſing among the thickeſt of the enemy, he found himſelf with only a few of his principal adherents, who bravely fought by his ſide. In this ſituation he was ſurrounded by the Imperialiſts on every ſide. He was perſonally known to them all. They were tender of his life; and, in attempting to take him priſoner, they permitted him to make his eſcape. Great honours were conferred upon Ferid by the emperor, on account of this ſignal victory.

Fluctuating counſels of his adherents.

The unfortunate Chuſero wandered all night through the woods, with a few attendants. His army was all diſperſed. He came in

 the

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

the morning to a hut, where, quite overcome by fatigue, he laid himſelf down to reſt. Some of his friends having diſcovered where he lay, aſſembled around him. They began to conſult together on the preſent untoward ſituation of their affairs. They differed in opinion. Such of the chiefs as were natives of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, inſiſted upon taking the route of that quarter of India, by the foot of the northern mountains: they alleged, that the Raja Man Singh, who was then ſuba of Bengal, poſſeſſed great power, which he would not fail to exert in his nephew's cauſe *: that the country was rich and populous: that it was an invariable maxim among the Hindoo princes, never to deſert the intereſt of a ſtranger who ſhould throw himſelf under their protection: Beſides, that the Raja Man Singh joined the affection of a relation to the prince, to the natural faith of his nation to the ſuppliant and unfortunate. The natives of Chandeiſh and Malava were for trying their fortunes in their reſpective provinces. Chan Azim, the late Viſier, father-in-law of Chuſero, was governor of the latter; and they doubted not but he would ſupport the dignity of his own family. They added, that Azim was poſſeſſed of a fine army, provided with artillery, and furniſhed with ſtores.

They diſperſe.

Huſſein Beg, who was in chief confidence with the prince, ſtarted objections to the different plans of his other adherents. He urged the diſtance of the march, and the impoſſibility of forcing their way through countries full of Imperial troops, who would be very active, ſince Fortune had forſaken the ſide of Chuſero. He propoſed that they ſhould continue their route to Cabul; where he himſelf had intereſt ſufficient to arm the whole province, together with his native country Buduchſhân, in favour of the prince.

* It was cuſtomary with the Mahommedan emperors of Hindoſtan to demand the daughters of Hindoo princes in marriage. The mother of Chuſero was ſiſter to the Raja Man Singh.

Chuſero

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

Chuſero, during the debate, ſat ſilent. Having at length weighed each opinion, he declared in favour of that of Huſſein; alleging, that the troops of the north were moſt faithful to their chiefs. The obſervation diſpleaſed the other chiefs: they murmured, and left his preſence. They ſaw that their affairs were deſperate, and they reſolved to retreat to their reſpective habitations; covering their fears under a pretended diſguſt at the preference given to the counſel of Huſſein.

He arrives on the banks of of the Attoc;

Chuſero in a few minutes found himſelf deſerted by thoſe who had made him the tool of their ambition and revenge. Reproaches were to no effect. He blamed his adherents for their timidity and perfidy; but he himſelf was not leſs culpable. His mind was agitated with various paſſions. Rage againſt his own folly was the moſt predominant. Huſſein was the only chief of note who remained of the conſpirators. His followers, conſiſting of three hundred horſe, and a few of the prince's menial ſervants, formed their whole retinue. With theſe they ſet out for Cabul. Being forced to depart from the high road, they frequently loſt their way, as they were obliged to travel in the night.

where, for want of boats,

Keeping their courſe through unfrequented paths and by-roads, they at length arrived on the banks of the river Attoc, the largeſt branch of the Indus. It was impaſſable without boats. It was then midnight. They moved down the river to the ferry of Choudera. Finding no boats at that place, though a much frequented paſſage, they underſtood that orders had been ſent to conceal them. The ferryman and villagers were aſleep. It was propoſed to ſeize them, to force them to diſcover where the boats were laid. Some were taken in their beds; others eſcaped, and, with their outcries, alarmed the country. The prince underſtood from thoſe that were taken, that orders from the Imperial camp had two days before been received by the zemindâr of the diſtrict, to ſtop the

paſſage

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

paſſage of the river; and that, in obedience to theſe orders, he had ſecreted the boats. Huſſein in the mean time having diſpatched ſome of his followers in queſt of the boats, they found two, filled with wood, in a neighbouring creek. Theſe were unloaded, and brought to the proper place. The zemindâr, being rouzed from ſleep by the noiſe, had come by this time to the banks of the Attoc, attended by a concourſe of people. He called to thoſe who dragged the boats, that he had an Imperial mandate to prohibit all perſons, under pain of death, to croſs the river. They, intimidated by his threats, turned the head of the two boats acroſs the ſtream. The prince's party fired upon them: ſome were killed, others plunged into the river; and a few expert ſwimmers, in the retinue of Chuſero, brought one boat with difficulty to the ſhore.

he is in great diſtreſs.

The banks of the Attoc were in the mean time crowded with the country people. An officer arrived with a hundred horſe to guard the paſſage. Other detachments came gradually in from every quarter. Chuſero and Huſſein reſolved to ſave themſelves in the boat. They placed their horſes in the center, and they themſelves took their ſeats in the ſtern. Their attendants, afraid of being left to the mercy of their enemies, threw themſelves headlong into the veſſel, and almoſt ſunk her. They, however, puſhed her from ſhore; threw ſome overboard, and cut off the hands of others who clung to her ſides. Many were drowned. A few ſlain by the Imperialiſts. This was but the beginning of misfortunes. Moſt of the oars had been loſt in the confuſion; and the rudder, to complete the ruin of the unfortunate Chuſero, had been inadvertently thrown overboard with the wood with which the boat had been found loaded. Theſe inconveniences, joined to a want of ſkill in the rowers, rendered it impoſſible for them to manage the boat. She was carried down the ſtream. The confuſion was great, and danger every moment increaſed.

The

The zemindâr, and the party who guarded the ferry, were not idle. They ſeized upon thoſe left aſhore. They fired at the boat, and followed her down the river. She ſtruck at laſt on a ſand-bank. Some plunged into the water to puſh her off: ſhe remained immoveable. The fire continued. Many were killed. No reſource was left. The ſun was juſt riſing. Caſim Chan, who commanded the party of horſe, ſeeing the unfortunate prince in this unextricable ſituation, ſtopt the fire. Being by this time joined by another officer who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, both mounted their elephants; and, riding in to the bank on which the boat lay, ſeized the prince. Caſim placed him behind him on the elephant, while the other officer ſecured Huſſein. The few that remained of their attendants were carried aſhore in another boat.

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

He is taken priſoner.

Such was the end of a rebellion begun without any juſt cauſe, concerted without judgment, and carried on with very moderate abilities, by a prince ſcarce more unfortunate than he deſerved to be. The emperor was at the time encamped in a garden near Lahore. He received the news of the ſeizure of the prince with exceſſive joy. He ordered him to be brought before him, with a golden chain from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of his anceſtors, Zingis and Timur. Huſſein, loaded with iron chains, was placed on the right hand of Chuſero; Abdul Rahim, another of the principal rebels, on his left. Jehangire ſternly aſked his ſon, "What could induce thee, Sultan Chuſero, to rebel againſt thy ſovereign and father?" Chuſero was ſilent: the emperor began to relent. He then, in a ſofter tone, queſtioned him about his adviſers and abettors in rebellion. Chuſero burſt into tears. His father was ſurprized: for till then he had remained firm. "Father," ſaid the prince, with a broken voice, "my crime is great; but let me ſuffer for it alone. When you accuſed

His behaviour before his father.

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

accuſed me, I was ſenſible of my faults; and, as I was reconciled with the loſs of life, I behaved with dignity. But when you raiſe the remembrance of my friends, I am troubled at their fate. Let them eſcape as they can; I will never become their accuſer."

Execution of his adherents.

Jehangire ſtood ſilent; and, by his preſſing him no farther, ſeemed to applaud his ſentiments. Any information from the prince would be unneceſſary. The conſpirators had impeached one another; and three hundred of the chiefs were already ſeized. The prince was delivered over, in cloſe confinement, into the hands of the paymaſter-general. Huſſein was ſentenced to be ſewed up in the raw hide of an ox, and to be thrown in that condition into the ſtreet. The hide was ſoon contracted by the heat of the ſun; and he expired in a few hours. Abdul Rahim did not ſo eaſily eſcape. Finding that Huſſein was dead ſooner than they expected, thoſe appointed to ſuperintend the executions, kept the aſs's hide in which Rahim was incloſed, conſtantly moiſt with water. He lived for ſeveral days in that miſerable condition. Three hundred pales in the mean time were ſet up in two rows along the public road. The rebels, to that number, were drawn alive on the pales. Chuſero was brought every day, as long as any of the unhappy wretches breathed, under their tortures, to view the horrid ſight. He was led in chains through the midſt of them, whilſt he watered the ground with his tears. Some of them had been his deareſt companions; others his faithful ſervants, who had followed his fortunes, merely to ſhew their fidelity to a maſter whom they loved.

Candahar inveſted by the Perſians.

Theſe barbarous executions were ſcarce over at Lahore, when news was brought to the Imperial camp, that the Perſians had inveſted Candahar with a numerous army; that Shaw Beg, the governor of that city and province, had, by his raſhneſs, ſuffered a very

a very considerable loss in a sally; yet that he continued, without any necessity, to expose the garrison. His conduct could only be accounted for by an absurdity bordering on madness. He was as careless of his own life as he was of his duty. Dissolute beyond example, he ordered an awning to be spread over the gate-way most exposed to the enemy's fire. He sat under it all day, conversing with common prostitutes, whom, much against their inclination, he forced to attend him. The emperor, fearing more from his negligence and debauchery, than he hoped from his fidelity and courage, sent Sirdir Chan, an old Omrah, to supersede him in his government, with orders to defend Candahar to the last extremity. Ghazi Chan, an officer of great reputation, was, at the same time, dispatched with twenty-five thousand horse, to harass the enemy. Jehangire himself, with the remaining part of the Imperial army, marched to Cabul.

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

Ghazi had scarce advanced within six days march of Candahar, when the Persians raised the siege, and retreated towards Chorassan. No reason could be assigned for these hostilities on the side of Persia, except the favourable opportunity offered, by the rebellion of Chusero, for seizing the city of Candahar, which was, in some measure, the key to the Persian empire. Shaw Abas of Persia pretended, that his lieutenants in the provinces of Seistan and Chorassan had taken this step without his orders; and that it was his positive commands which raised the siege.

The siege raised.

Jehangire placed little faith in the professions of Abas; being satisfied, that the death of Akbar, and the rebellion of Chusero, were the true motives of the invasion. He, however, admitted the excuses of the Persian, which were brought by his ambassador Hussein. Several small forts near Candahar, which had been taken by the Persians, were evacuated, and peace between the two

A peace with Persia.

A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015. formidable powers was re-eſtabliſhed. Shaw Beg, deprived of the government of Candahar, was made Suba of Cabul: for, notwithſtanding his abſurd behaviour, he had diſplayed both ability and ſpirit in the defence of the city. The emperor, after theſe tranſactions, returned toward Lahore.

A conſpiracy. Sultan Chuſero was ſtill in cloſe confinement, which his active and vehement diſpoſition could very ill endure. The uſage he met with deprived him of every hope of a reconciliation with his father. The marks of affection ſhewn by the emperor to his younger ſons, Purvez and Churrum, confirmed the ſuſpicions of Chuſero. It was alſo currently reported, that Jehangire was to appoint one of the two favoured princes, his ſucceſſor. Nothing but diſappointment, and even death, preſented to Chuſero's mind. His friends were ſtill numerous in the army. He ſounded them, by his emiſſaries: ſome moved by his misfortunes, many in love with novelty, began to form treaſonable deſigns againſt the emperor's life. It was concerted to fall upon Jehangire at the chace, and, having diſpatched him, to raiſe Chuſero, from his priſon to the throne.

Diſcovered. Some writers doubt, whether Chuſero was at all privy to this conſpiracy: others deny the whole. The firſt argue from the humanity of Chuſero; the latter ſay, that it was a fiction of Sultan Churrum, third ſon of Jehangire. This much is certain, that the firſt intelligence of the conſpiracy came, through prince Churrum, to the emperor's ears. He informed his father, that five hundred of the nobility were engaged in a plot againſt his life. Jehangire was ſtartled, and knew not how to act: he conſidered, that, ſhould he ſeize ſome, the reſt would be alarmed; and that danger might ariſe from their power. As it was difficult, therefore, to ſecure them all at once, he thought it moſt

prudent

prudent to ſend all on different ſervices. Four of the principals he reſerved, whom he ordered to be ſeized. They were tried for treaſon; ſufficient proofs could not be found. They were kept in confinement: Chuſero was more narrowly watched; and became daily more and more obnoxious to his father. A. D. 1606. Hig. 1015.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. II.

Diſturbances in Bengal—Story of Chaja Aiaſs—His flight from Tartary—Diſtreſs in the deſart—Birth of the Sultana Noor-Mâhil—Marriage with Shere Afkun—Perſecution—and murder of that Omrah—Her marriage with the emperor—Promotion of her family.

JEHANGIRE, having reſettled the affairs of the provinces to the north-weſt of the Indus, marched toward the capital. When he was croſſing the Attoc, letters were received from Iſlam Chan, governor of Behâr, with intelligence, that Shere Afkun, a native of Turkomania, who commanded in the diſtrict of Burdwan, had, with his own hand, killed Kuttub-ul-dien Koka, Suba of Bengal, together with ſeveral other officers, who had ſet upon Shere Afkun, with an intention to aſſaſſinate him. Jehangire was much afflicted at the death of his favourite Kuttub; but he derived ſome comfort from the Suba's ſucceſs againſt the life of Shere Afkun. The circumſtances of the unhappy fate of this chief are in themſelves extraordinary; and the knowledge of them is neceſſary for elucidating the ſequel of the hiſtory of Jehangire. To trace things to their ſource, we muſt, for ſome time, loſe ſight of the unfortunate Shere. Diſturbances in Bengal.

Story of Chaja Aiafs.

About twenty years before this period, Chaja-Aiafs, a native of the weftern Tartary, left that country to pufh his fortune in Hindoftan. He was defcended of an ancient and noble family, fallen into decay by various revolutions of fortune. He, however, had received a good education, which was all his parents could beftow. Falling in love with a young woman, as poor as himfelf, he married her; but he found it difficult to provide for her the very neceffaries of life. Reduced to the laft extremity, he turned his thoughts upon India, the ufual refource of the needy Tartars of the north. He left privately friends, who either would not or could not affift him, and turned his face to a foreign country. His all confifted of one forry horfe, and a very fmall fum of money, which had proceeded from the fale of his other effects. Placing his wife upon the horfe, he walked by her fide. She happened to be with child, and could ill endure the fatigue of fo great a journey. Their fcanty pittance of money was foon expended: they had even fubfifted, for fome days, upon charity, when they arrived on the fkirts of the Great Solitudes, which feparate Tartary from the dominions of the family of Timur, in India. No houfe was there to cover them from the inclemency of the weather; no hand to relieve their wants. To return, was certain mifery; to proceed, apparent deftruction.

His diftrefs

They had fafted three days: to complete their misfortunes, the wife of Aiafs was taken in labour. She began to reproach her hufband for leaving his native country at an unfortunate hour; for exchanging a quiet, though poor life, for the ideal profpect of wealth in a diftant country. In this diftreffed fituation fhe brought forth a daughter. They remained in the place for fome hours, with a vain hope that travellers might pafs that way. They were difappointed. Human feet feldom tread thefe defarts: the fun declined a-pace. They feared the approach of night: the

place was the haunt of wild beafts; and ſhould they eſcape their hunger, they muſt fall by their own. Chaja Aiaſs, in this extremity, having placed his wife on the horſe, found himſelf ſo much exhauſted that he could ſcarcely move. To carry the child was impoſſible: the mother could not even hold herſelf faſt on the horſe. A long conteſt began between Humanity and Neceſſity: the latter prevailed, and they agreed to expoſe the child on the high-way. The infant, covered with leaves, was placed under a tree; and the diſconſolate parents proceeded in tears.

When they had advanced about a mile from the place, and the eyes of the mother could no longer diſtinguiſh the ſolitary tree under which ſhe had left her daughter, ſhe gave way to grief; and throwing herſelf from the horſe on the ground, exclaimed, "My child! my child!" She endeavoured to raiſe herſelf; but ſhe had no ſtrength to return. Aiaſs was pierced to the heart. He prevailed upon his wife to ſit down. He promiſed to bring her the infant. He arrived at the place. No ſooner had his eyes reached the child, than he was almoſt ſtruck dead with horror. A black ſnake, ſay our authors, was coiled around it; and Aiaſs believed he beheld him extending his fatal jaws to devour the infant. The father ruſhed forward. The ſerpent, alarmed at his vociferation, retired into the hollow tree. He took up his daughter unhurt, and returned to the mother. He gave her child into her arms; and, as he was informing her of the wonderful eſcape of the infant, ſome travellers appeared, and ſoon relieved them of all their wants. They proceeded gradually and came to Lahore. in the deſart.

The emperor Akbar, at the arrival of Aiaſs, kept his court at Lahore. Aſiph Chan, one of that monarch's principal Omrahs, attended then the preſence. He was a diſtant relation to Aiaſs, His arrival, and good fortune at Lahore.

and

and he received him with attention and friendſhip. To employ him, he made him his own ſecretary. Aiaſs ſoon recommended himſelf to Aſiph in that ſtation; and, by ſome accident, his diligence and ability attracted the notice of the emperor, who raiſed him to the command of a thouſand horſe. He became, in proceſs of time, maſter of the houſehold; and his genius being ſtill greater than even his good fortune, he raiſed himſelf to the office and title of Actimâd-ul-Dowla, or high treaſurer of the empire. Thus he, who had almoſt periſhed through mere want in the deſert, became, in the ſpace of a few years, the firſt ſubject in India.

Character of his daughter Mher-ul-Niſſa.

The daughter, who had been born to Aiaſs in the deſert, received, ſoon after his arrival at Lahore, the name of Mher-ul-Niſſa, or the Sun of Women. She had ſome right to the appellation; for in beauty ſhe excelled all the ladies of the Eaſt. She was educated with the utmoſt care and attention. In muſic, in dancing, in poetry, in painting, ſhe had no equal among her ſex. Her diſpoſition was volatile, her wit lively and ſatirical, her ſpirit lofty and uncontrouled. Selim, the prince-royal, viſited one day her father. When the public entertainment was over, when all, except the principal gueſts, were withdrawn, and wine was brought on the table, the ladies, according to cuſtom, were introduced in their veils.

She captivates Sultan Selim:

The ambition of Mher-ul-Niſſa aſpired to a conqueſt of the prince. She ſung—he was in raptures: ſhe danced—he could hardly be reſtrained, by the rules of decency, to his place. Her ſtature, her ſhape, her gait, had raiſed his ideas of her beauty to the higheſt pitch. When his eyes ſeemed to devour her, ſhe, as by accident, dropt her veil; and ſhone upon him, at once, with all her charms. The confuſion, which ſhe could well feign, on the

the occaſion, heightened the beauty of her face. Her timid eye by ſtealth fell upon the prince, and kindled all his ſoul into love. He was ſilent for the remaining part of the evening: ſhe endeavoured to confirm, by her wit, the conqueſt which the charms of her perſon had made.

Selim, diſtracted with his paſſion, knew not what courſe to take. Mher-ul-Niſſa had been betrothed, by her father, to Shere Afkun, a Turkomanian nobleman of great renown. He applied to his father Akbar, who ſternly refuſed to commit a piece of injuſtice, though in favour of the heir of his throne. The prince retired abaſhed; and Mher-ul-Niſſa became the wife of Shere Afkun. The latter, however, ſuffered in his proſpects in life, for not having made a voluntary reſignation of the lady to the enamoured prince. Though Selim durſt make no open attack upon his fortunate rival, during the life of Akbar, men in office worſhipped the riſing ſun, and threw accumulated diſgrace on Shere Afkun. He became diſguſted, and left the court of Agra. He retired into the province of Bengal, and obtained from the Suba of that country, the ſuperintendency of the diſtrict of Burdwan. Marries Shere Afkun;

The paſſion for Mher-ul-Niſſa, which Selim had repreſſed from a reſpect and fear for his father, returned with redoubled violence when he himſelf mounted the throne of India. He was now abſolute; no ſubject could thwart his will and pleaſure. He recalled Shere Afkun from his retreat. He was, however, afraid to go ſo much againſt the current of the public opinion, as to deprive that Omrah of his wife. Shere was inflexible: no man of honour in India can part with his ſpouſe, and retain his life. His incredible ſtrength and bravery had rendered Shere extremely who is perſecuted by Selim.

popular. He was naturally high-ſpirited and proud; and it was not to be expected, that he would yield to indignity and public ſhame.—His family, his former reputation was high.—Born of noble parents in Turkomania, he had ſpent his youth in Perſia; and had ſerved, with uncommon renown, Shaw Iſmaël the third of the Sufvi line. His original name was Aſta Jillô, but having killed a lion, he was dignified with the title of Shere Afkun, or the Overthrower of the Lion. Under the latter name he became famous in India. In the wars of Akbar, he had ſerved with great reputation. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in a particular manner, under Chan Chanan, at the taking of Sind, by exhibiting prodigies of perſonal ſtrength and valour. Preferments had been heaped upon him; and he was highly eſteemed at court, during the life of Akbar, who loved in others that daring intrepidity for which he himſelf was renowned.

He is called to court.

Jehangire kept his court at Delhi, when he called Shere Afkun to the preſence. He received him graciouſly, and conferred new honours upon him. Shere Afkun, naturally open and generous, ſuſpected not the emperor's intentions. Time, he thought, had erazed the memory of Mher-ul-Niſſa from Jehangire's mind. He was deceived. The monarch was reſolved to remove his rival; but the means he uſed were, at once, fooliſh and diſgraceful. He appointed a day for hunting; and ordered the haunt of an enormous tiger to be explored. News was ſoon brought, that a tiger of an extraordinary ſize was diſcovered in the foreſt of Nidarbari. This ſavage, it was ſaid, had carried off many of the largeſt oxen from the neighbouring villages. The emperor directed thither his march, attended by Shere Afkun, and ſeveral thouſands of his principal officers, with all their trains. Having, according to the cuſtom of the Mogul Tartars, ſurrounded the ground for many miles, they began to move toward the center,

on

on all ſides. The tiger was rouzed. His roaring was heard in all quarters: and the emperor haſtened to the place.

The nobility being aſſembled, Jehangire called aloud, "Who "among you will advance ſingly and attack this tiger?" They looked on one another in ſilence: then all turned their eyes on Shere Afkun. He ſeemed not to underſtand their meaning: at length three Omrahs ſtarted forth from the circle, and ſacrificing fear to ſhame, fell at the emperor's feet, and begged permiſſion to try ſingly their ſtrength againſt the formidable animal. The pride of Shere Afkun aroſe. He had imagined, that none durſt attempt a deed ſo dangerous. He hoped, that after the refuſal of the nobles, the honour of the enterprize would devolve in courſe on his hands. But three had offered themſelves for the combat: and they were bound in honour to inſiſt on their prior right. Afraid of loſing his former renown, Shere Afkun began thus in the preſence: "To attack an animal with weapons is both "unmanly and unfair. God has given to man limbs and ſinews "as well as to tigers: he has added reaſon to the former to conduct "his ſtrength." The other Omrahs objected in vain, "That "all men were inferior to the tiger in ſtrength; and that he could "be overcome only with ſteel." "I will convince you of your "miſtake," Shere Afkun replied: and, throwing down his ſword and ſhield, prepared to advance unarmed. He attacks,

Though the emperor was, in ſecret, pleaſed with a propoſal full of danger to Shere, he made a ſhew of diſſuading him from the enterprize. Shere was determined. The monarch, with feigned reluctance, yielded. Men knew not whether they ought moſt to admire the courage of the man, or to exclaim againſt the folly of the deed. Aſtoniſhment was painted in every face. Every tongue was ſilent. Writers give a particular, but incre- and kills an enormous tiger.

 dible

dible detail of the battle between Shere Afkun and the tiger. This much is certain, that, after a long and obſtinate ſtruggle, the aſtoniſhing warrior prevailed; and, though mangled with wounds himſelf, laid at laſt the ſavage dead at his feet. The thouſands who were eye-witneſſes of the action, were even almoſt afraid to vouch for the truth of the exploit, with their concurring teſtimony. The fame of Shere was increaſed; and the deſigns of the emperor failed. But the determined cruelty of the latter ſtopt not here: other means of death were contrived againſt the unfortunate Shere.

Defeats a deſign againſt his life.

He had ſcarce recovered from his wounds, when he came to pay his reſpects at court. He was careſſed by the emperor; and he ſuſpected no guile. A ſnare, however, was prepared for him. Jehangire had meanly condeſcended to give private orders to the rider of one of his largeſt elephants to waylay his rival, in one of the narrow ſtreets, when he next ſhould return to court, and there to tread him to death. As accidents of that kind ſometimes happen, from the rage of thoſe animals in the rutting ſeaſon, the thing might have paſſed without ſuſpicion. Shere was carried in his palanky. He ſaw the elephant in his way. He gave orders to the bearers to return back: the elephant came forward. They threw the palanky, with their maſter, in the ſtreet, and fled to ſave their lives. Shere ſaw his danger. He had juſt time to riſe. He drew a ſhort ſword, which always hung by his ſide: with this weapon he ſtruck the elephant acroſs the root of the trunk, which he cut off with one blow. The animal roared, turned from him, fell down and expired. The emperor was looking out at a window. He retired with amazement and ſhame. Shere continued his way to the palace. Without any ſuſpicion of treachery, he related the particulars to Jehangire. The latter diſguiſed his ſentiments, but relinquiſhed not his deſigns. He

praiſed the ſtrength and valour of Shere, who retired ſatisfied and unſuſpecting from the preſence.

Whether the emperor endeavoured to conquer his paſſion for Mher-ul-Niſſa, or felt remorſe from his own behaviour, is uncertain; but, for the ſpace of ſix months, no further attempts were made againſt the life of Shere, who now retired to the capital of Bengal. The former deſigns of Jehangire were no ſecret. They were the ſubject of common converſation, little to the advantage of the character of a great prince. Abſolute monarchs, however, are never without men who flatter their worſt paſſions, and adminiſter to their moſt pernicious pleaſures. Kuttub, Suba of Bengal, was one of theſe convenient ſycophants. To ingratiate himſelf with the emperor, though perhaps not by his expreſs commands, he hired forty ruffians, to attack and murder Shere, when an opportunity ſhould offer. Shere was apprized of the intentions of Kuttub. He continued within doors: but ſuch was his confidence in his own ſtrength and valour, that at night he would not permit his ſervants to remain in his houſe. They, according to cuſtom, retired each to his own home. An old porter only remained of the men ſervants, under the ſame roof with Shere. The aſſaſſins were no ſtrangers to a circumſtance common in India. They made their obſervations upon the houſe. They found that there was a room, on the right hand, within the the principal door, which Shere uſed, as a writing-chamber. This room communicated, by a narrow paſſage, with the ſleeping apartments. When it was dark, they took advantage of the old porter's abſence, and conveyed themſelves, without diſcovery, into the houſe. Diſcomfits

The principal door being bolted at the uſual hour, Shere and his family went to bed. Some of the aſſaſſins, when they thought forty aſſaſſins.

 he

he was fallen aſleep, ſtole ſilently into his apartment. They prepared to plunge their daggers into his body, when one of them, who was an old man, being touched with remorſe, cried out with a loud voice: "Hold! have we not the emperor's orders? Let "us behave like men. Shall forty fall upon one, and that one "aſleep!" "Boldly ſpoken," ſaid Shere; ſtarting that inſtant from his bed. Seizing his ſword, he placed himſelf in a corner of the room. There he was attacked by the aſſaſſins. In a few minutes, many of the villains lay, weltering in their blood, at his feet. Scarce one half eſcaped without a wound. The old man, who had given warning, did not attempt to fly. Shere took him by the hand, praiſed and thanked him for his behaviour, and, having enquired about thoſe who had hired the aſſaſſins, diſmiſſed him, with handſome preſents, to relate the particulars abroad.

He is murdered.

The fame of this gallant exploit reſounded through the whole empire. Shere could not ſtir abroad for the mob, who preſſed around him. He, however, thought proper to retire from the capital of Bengal, to his old reſidence at Burdwan. He hoped to live there in obſcurity and ſafety, with his beloved Mher-ul-Niſſa. He was deceived. The Suba of Bengal had received his government, for the purpoſe of removing the unfortunate Shere; and he was not ungrateful. After deliberating with himſelf about the means, he, at laſt, fell upon an effectual expedient. Settling the affairs of his government at Tanda, which was, at that time, the capital of Bengal, he reſolved, with a great retinue, to make the tour of the dependent provinces. In his rout he came to Burdwan. He made no ſecret to his principal officers, that he had the emperor's orders for diſpatching Shere. That devoted Omrah, hearing that the Suba was entering the town in which he reſided, mounted his horſe, and, with two ſervants only, went to pay his reſpects. The Suba received Shere with affected

politeneſs,

politeneſs. They rode, for ſome time, ſide by ſide; and their converſation turned upon indifferent affairs. The Suba ſuddenly ſtopt. He ordered his elephant of ſtate to be brought; which he mounted, under a pretence of appearing with becoming pomp in the city of Burdwan. Shere ſtood ſtill, when the Suba was aſcending; and one of the pikemen, pretending that Shere was in the way, ſtruck his horſe, and began to drive him before him. Shere was enraged at the affront. He knew that the pikeman durſt not have uſed that freedom without his maſter's orders: he ſaw plainly, that there was a laid deſign againſt his life. He turned round upon the pikeman; and threatened him with inſtant death. He fell on the ground and begged for mercy. Swords were drawn. Shere had no time to loſe. He ſpurred his horſe up to the elephant, on which the Suba was mounted; and having broke down the amari or caſtle, cut him in two; and thus the unfortunate Kuttub became the victim of his own zeal to pleaſe the emperor. Shere did not reſt here: he turned his ſword on the other officers. The firſt that fell by his hands, was Aba Chan, a native of Caſhmire; who was an Omrah of five thouſand horſe. Four other nobles ſhared the ſame fate. A death attended every blow from the hand of Shere. The remaining chiefs were at once aſtoniſhed and frightened. They fled to a diſtance, and formed a circle around him. Some began to gall him with arrows; others to fire with their muſquets. His horſe, at length, being ſhot with a ball in the forehead, fell under him. The unfortunate Shere, reduced to the laſt extremity, began to upbraid them with cowardice. He invited them ſeverally to ſingle combat; but he begged in vain. He had already received ſome wounds. He plainly ſaw his approaching fate. Turning his face toward Mecca, he took up ſome duſt with his hand; and, for want of water, threw it, by way of ablution, upon his head. He then ſtood up, ſeemingly unconcerned. Six balls

entered

entered his body, in different places, before he fell. His enemies had ſcarce the courage to come near, till they ſaw him in the laſt agonies of death. They praiſed his valour to the ſkies: but in adding to his reputation, they took away from their own.

Mher-ul-Niſſa

The officer, who ſucceeded the deceaſed Suba in the command of the troops, haſtened to the houſe of Shere. He was afraid that Mher-ul-Niſſa, in the firſt paroxiſms of grief, might make away with herſelf. That lady, however, bore her misfortunes with more fortitude and reſignation. She was unwilling to adopt the manners of her country, upon ſuch tragical occaſions. She even pretended, in vindication of her apparent inſenſibility, to follow the injunctions of her deceaſed lord. She alleged that Shere, foreſeeing his own fall by Jehangire, had conjured her to yield to the deſires of that monarch without heſitation. The reaſons, which ſhe ſaid, he gave, were as feeble as the fact itſelf was improbable. He was afraid that his own exploits would ſink into oblivion, without they were connected with the remarkable event of giving an empreſs to India.

ill-received at court.

Mher-ul-Niſſa was ſent, with all imaginable care, to Delhi. She was full of the ambition of becoming the favourite Sultana. Her vanity was diſappointed. Though ſhe was received with great tenderneſs and affection, by Rokia Sultana Begum, the emperor's mother, Jehangire refuſed to ſee her. Whether his mind was then fixed on another object, or remorſe had taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul, authors do not agree. They, however, aſſert, with great improbability, that the emperor was ſo much affected with the death of his favourite, the Suba of Bengal, that he reſolved to puniſh Mher-ul-Niſſa, for an accident in which ſhe had no concern. Be that as it will, he gave orders to ſhut her up in one of the worſt apartments of the ſeraglio. He even

would

would not deign to ſee her; and, contrary to his uſual munificence to women, he allowed her but fourteen anas, about two ſhillings of our money, a-day, for the ſubſiſtance of herſelf and ſome female ſlaves. This coldneſs to a woman whom he paſſionately loved when not in his power, was at once unaccountable and abſurd.

Mher-ul-Niſſa was a woman of a haughty ſpirit, and could not brook this treatment. She had no remedy. She gave herſelf up, for ſome time, to grief, as if for the death of her huſband; but it was diſappointment only that preyed upon her mind. She was at length reconciled to her condition, from a hope of an opportunity of re-kindling the emperor's former love. She truſted to the amazing power of her own beauty; which, to conquer, required only to be ſeen. The emperor's mother, who was deeply intereſted for Mher-ul-Niſſa, could not prevail upon her ſon to ſee her. He turned away from her in ſilence, when ſhe ſpoke of the widow of Shere. An expedient, however, offered itſelf to Mher-ul-Niſſa. To raiſe her own reputation in the ſeraglio, and to ſupport herſelf and ſlaves with more decency, than the ſcanty pittance allowed her would admit, ſhe called forth her invention and taſte in working ſome admirable pieces of tapeſtry and embroidery, in painting ſilks with exquiſite delicacy, and in inventing female ornaments of every kind. Theſe articles were carried, by her ſlaves, to the different ſquares of the royal ſeraglio, and to the harams of the great officers of the empire. The inventions of Mher-ul-Niſſa excelled ſo much in their kind, that they were bought with the greateſt avidity. Nothing was faſhionable among the ladies of Delhi and Agra, but the work of her hands. She accumulated, by theſe means, a conſiderable ſum of money, with which ſhe repaired and beautified her apartments,

Not ſeen by the emperor,

ments, and clothed her ſlaves in the richeſt tiſſues and brocades, while ſhe herſelf affected a very plain and ſimple dreſs.

till the end of four years.

In this ſituation the widow of Shere continued four years, without once having ſeen the emperor. Her fame reached his ears from every apartment in the ſeraglio. Curioſity at length vanquiſhed his reſolution. He determined to be an eye-witneſs of the things which he had ſo often heard, concerning Mher-ul-Niſſa. He reſolved to ſurprize her: and communicating his reſolution to none, he ſuddenly entered her apartments, where he found every thing ſo elegant and magnificent, that he was ſtruck with amazement. But the greateſt ornament of the whole was Mher-ul-Niſſa herſelf. She lay half reclined, on an embroidered ſopha, in a plain muſlin dreſs. Her ſlaves ſat in a circle round her, at work, attired in rich brocades. She ſlowly aroſe, in manifeſt confuſion; and received the emperor with the uſual ceremony of touching firſt the ground, then her forehead with her right hand. She did not utter one word; but ſtood with her eyes fixed on the ground. Jehangire remained for ſome time ſilent. He admired her ſhape, her ſtature, her beauty, her grace; and that inexpreſſible voluptuouſneſs of mein, which it is impoſſible to reſiſt.

Her nuptials with Jehangire.

Jehangire did not, for ſome time, recover from his confuſion. He at length ſat down on the ſopha, and requeſted Mher-ul-Niſſa to ſit by his ſide. The firſt queſtion he aſked, was, "Why "this difference between the appearance of Mher-ul-Niſſa and "her ſlaves?" She very ſhrewdly replied, "Thoſe born to ſervi-"tude muſt dreſs as it ſhall pleaſe thoſe whom they ſerve. Theſe "are my ſervants; and I alleviate the burden of bondage by every "indulgence in my power. But I that am your ſlave, O Em-

peror

"peror of the Moguls, muſt dreſs according to your pleaſure and "not my own." Though this anſwer was a kind of ſarcaſm on his behaviour, it was ſo pertinent and well turned, that it greatly pleaſed Jehangire. He took her at once in his arms. His former affection returned, with all its violence; and the very next day, public orders were iſſued to prepare a magnificent feſtival, for the celebration of his nuptials with Mher-ul-Niſſa. Her name was alſo changed by an edict into Noor-Mâhil, or the Light of the Seraglio. The emperor's former favourites vaniſhed before her; and during the reſt of the reign of Jehangire, ſhe bore the chief ſway in all the affairs of the empire.

Promotion of her family.

The great power of Noor-Mâhil appeared, for the firſt time, in the immediate advancement of her family. Her father, who, in the latter end of the reign of Akbar, had been chief treaſurer of the empire, was raiſed to the office of abſolute viſier and firſt miniſter. Ferid Bochari, who, under the title of Mortaza Chan, managed the affairs of the empire, had been, by a ſtroke of the palſy, rendered unfit for buſineſs, which opened the way for the promotion of the Actemâd-ul-Dowlat. The two brothers of Noor-Mâhil were raiſed to the firſt rank of nobility, by the titles of Acticâd Chan and Aſiph Jah. Her numerous relations poured in from Tartary, upon hearing of the fortune of the houſe of Aiaſs. Some of them were gratified with high employments, all with lucrative ones. Her father was not dazzled with the ſplendor of his high ſtation. He was a man of probity in private life, of ability in office. He became a great and good miniſter. His name is revered to this day in Hindoſtan. The talents of her brothers were rather popular than great. They behaved with honour and moderation upon every occaſion; ſtrangers to inſolence, and enemies to oppreſſion. The invidiouſneſs of their ſituation did not raiſe envy. Men allowed, that merit intitled them

them more to their high ſtations, than their relation to the favourite Sultana. The writers of the affairs of Hindoſtan remark, That no family ever roſe ſo ſuddenly, or ſo deſervedly, to rank and eminence, than the family of Chaja Aiaſs; and this is our apology for the minute relation of their progreſs to greatneſs.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. III.

Prudent adminiſtration—Inſurrections quelled—Bad ſucceſs in the Decan—Emperor's progreſs to Ajmere.—Peace with the Rana—Prince Churrum in favour—Character of Sultan Purvez—An Engliſh ambaſſador—His reception at Ajmere—Tranſactions at court—Power of the Sultana—Progreſs to Mando—To Guzerat—The emperor's return to Agra—Death and character of the Viſier.

THE charms of the Sultana eſtranged the mind of Jehangire from all public affairs. Eaſy in his temper, and naturally voluptuous, the powers of his ſoul were locked up in a pleaſing enthuſiaſm of love, by the engaging converſation and extraordinary beauty of Noor-Mâhil. The ſtate, however, did not ſuffer from the negligent indolence of the emperor. An ample field was left for the virtues and abilities of the new viſier; who turned his attention more to domeſtic improvement than to foreign conqueſt. Agriculture, which had been much neglected, was encouraged. Many provinces, deſolated by former diſturbances and wars, were, by degrees, repeopled and cultivated. Security of property was given to the farmer; the induſtry of the mechanic was protected. The country aſſumed a new face: the uſeful arts were revived and flouriſhed in the cities. The viſier even extended his improvements to deſarts. Foreſts, formerly the haunts of wild beaſts, were cut down; and villages and towns began

Prudent adminiſtration.

A. D. 1611.
Higer. 1020.

began to riſe in ſolitudes. Inſurrection and rebellion were not heard of, becauſe there was no oppreſſion: idleneſs being diſcouraged, robberies were things unknown. The revenues of the empire gradually increaſed: to prevent extortion in the collection, every Suba was obliged to tranſmit monthly to court, a ſtate of the improvements and regulations made, in conſequence of public inſtructions from Agra. When the improvements were not adequate to the taxes, the Subas were either ſeverely reprimanded, or degraded. No diſtinctions were made, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, between the Mahommedan and Hindoo. Both were worſhippers of God, each in his way; both members of the ſame community, and ſubjects of the ſame lord.

Afgans rebel.

When the father of the Sultana was thus employed, in internal regulations for the good of the empire, new commotions aroſe near its northern frontier. The Afgans, a fierce and untractable people, natives of the mountains beyond the Indus, always thirſting after ſlaughter and plunder, could not long endure peace. Theſe barbarians were encouraged to inſurrection, by the abſence of Shaw Bec Chan, Suba of Cabul, from the capital of the province of that name. The Suba had been obliged to make a journey northward, to ſettle ſome affairs on the frontiers; and Majin-ul-Muluc, the deputy-governor of Cabul, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized in the city by the inſurgents. They entered Cabul, with a conſiderable army, and began to exerciſe all the cruelties of war. The inhabitants, rendered deſperate by misfortune, took arms againſt the plunderers. The city became a ſcene of ſlaughter and diſtreſs. Nadili Meidani, a gallant man, and an officer of rank in the province, haſtened to the relief of Cabul. Some of the banditti fled: many were put to the ſword. The fugitives were purſued to their mountains, and the rebellion

quaſhed.

quashed. These transactions happened in the month of Siffer, of the sixth year of Jehangire. A. D. 1611. Hig. 1020.

An insurrection in Bengal.

An insurrection happened in Bengal toward the close of the same year. Asman, an Afgan, descended of the race of the Patan princes, who reigned in India before the empire fell under the dominion of the house of Timur, stirred up a rebellion. He had formerly made many attempts to recover the throne of his fathers; but this was his most formidable and resolute effort. Sujait, an officer of rank, was dispatched against the rebel by Islam Chan, Suba of Bengal. Both armies soon came to an action. Sujait was on the point of being defeated. He drove his elephant, as the last resort of despair, through the thickest of the enemy, in search of Asman, who was mounted on a horse. The elephant having seized the horse, dashed him and his rider against the ground; but when the animal was about to tread the unfortunate Asman under his feet, one of his attendants came and wounded the elephant in the trunk. The elephant, with the pain of the wound, plunged in such a manner, that Sujait was thrown off, and fell headlong on the ground. His life was saved by his men; who seeing him exposing his person, became less careful about their own. In their effort to extricate their chief, they repulsed the enemy. Asman, bruised with his fall, was carried back to his tent, where he soon after expired. His death gave the victory to Sujait, and quashed the rebellion in Bengal. Sujait, for this signal service, was raised by the emperor to the title of Rustum Zimân, which signifies the Hercules of the Age.

Another in Behâr.

The insurrection in Bengal was scarce quelled, when another of a more extraordinary nature happened in the neighbouring province of Behâr. A man of low degree, whose name was Cuttub,

A. D. 1611. Hig. 1020.

Cuttub, descended of the Rohilla tribe of Afgans, and a native of Atcha, found his way to Behâr. That province was possessed by a number of his nation, who had settled there under the Patan empire. He affirmed that he was the prince Chusero, the reigning emperor's son; and he accompanied his imposture with a probable story of his escape from prison. The misfortunes of Chusero had rendered him popular. Many believed the tale. Many, in love with innovation and spoil, joined the standard of Cuttub. He numbered, in less than a week, seven thousand among his followers. He assumed immediately the Imperial titles, and advanced, with his motley army of banditti, toward Patna, the capital of the province of Behâr. Assil Chan, the Suba of the province, was absent at Gazipoor, about one hundred and twenty miles from Patna; and his deputy commanded in the city, when Cuttub appeared before it.

Quashed.

The city of Patna was too large and ill-garrisoned with troops to make any defence. Cuttub entered it, with little opposition. He took possession of the palace, women, and wealth of the Suba; and, giving up Patna to plunder, divided the spoil among his adherents. Some, who were no strangers to the person of Sultan Chusero, endeavoured to expose the imposture. They suffered for their rashness, and were put to death. Some, conscious of the imposition, were afraid to own their folly; and, having gone so far, were unwilling and ashamed to recede. Assil himself, at first, gave some credit to a report brought from all quarters. He knew not how to behave. He affected the party of Chusero; and he feared the emperor. Ten days after Patna was surprized by Cuttub, Assil was convinced, by various letters, that the leader of the insurrection was not the prince. He hastened from Gazipoor, with all the forces he could collect. On the third day he presented

presented himself before Patna. Cuttub marched out and gave him battle. The insurgents were defeated and fled. In the hurry of their flight they neglected to shut the gates; and the enemy entered at their heels. The pretended prince, driven to the last extremity, shut himself up, with a few friends, in the Suba's house. He defended himself for some time. Assil, having lost twenty men in endeavouring to scale the walls, was so fortunate as to kill the impostor with a brick-bat; and thus a ridiculous kind of death put an end to the ambitious views of Cuttub. A. D. 1611. Hig. 1020.

Prince Purvez sent against the Rana.

Intelligence of this insurrection arrived at the court of Agra, at the same time with the news of its being quelled. Fresh disturbances broke out in a different corner of the empire. Amar Sinka, prince of Odipour, in the Decan, setting suddenly upon the Imperial troops on the frontier, defeated them. The action happened near the city of Brampour, among the mountains of Balagat. The emperor was alarmed. He placed his second son, Purvez, at the head of thirty thousand horse; and gave him, at the same time, a commission to take the command of all the troops on the confines of the Imperial dominions and the Decan. The force, had it even been well conducted, was no more than adequate to the service. Amar Sinka, who went under the title of Rana, or THE PRINCE, by way of eminence, deduced his descent from the Imperial family, who reigned in the great city of Kinôge over all India for many centuries, before that empire was invaded by the followers of Mahommed. He added power to his noble birth. He possessed the greater part of the territories which compose the extensive dominions of the present Mahrattors; and the lawful heir of his family bears, to this day, the name of Prince among that powerful aristocracy.

A. D. 1611. Hig. 1020.

Feuds in the Imperial army.

Many nobles of the firſt rank and renown attended Sultan Purvez in this expedition. The moſt conſiderable were Chan Jehan, deſcended of the Imperial family of Lodi, who reigned before the houſe of Timur, in Hindoſtan; Mirza Abdul Rahim, who derived his pedigree from Timur; and Chan Chanan, the ſon of the famous Byram, who had been regent during the minority of the emperor Akbar. Theſe compoſed the prince's council. But they carried their former feuds into their deliberations. They were unanimous in nothing. Jealouſy, in its moſt forbidding form, appeared in all their debates; and they could not even abſtain from indecent reflections upon one another. The ſpirit of diſcord ſpread from the council of war to the army. Each of the great Omrahs had his partizans and abettors. Faction and tumult reigned in every corner of the camp. The prince was naturally mild; he wanted experience; and he was deſtitute of that intrepid firmneſs and ſeverity, which is neceſſary to awe mankind into obedience. He deſcended to intreaty where he ought to command; and when he endeavoured to reconcile them, their paſſion became more inflamed, as every check was removed by his known ſoftneſs of diſpoſition.

Their diſtreſs and retreat.

The army in the mean time advanced. Within a few days march of Brampour, the Imperialiſts came in ſight of the enemy. Men generally become united at the approach of danger. It happened otherwiſe here. The ſpirit of Diſcord and Envy had been let looſe; and the Omrahs feared the enemy leſs, than the ſucceſs that might attend the advice of any one of themſelves. Chan Jehan was for battle. Chan Chanan differed from him in opinion; as the enemy was too advantageouſly poſted in the hills. Abdul Rahim, was for entering the Rana's country by another road. The prince was ready to adopt any reſolution, upon which they all ſhould agree. This was impoſſible. The

army

A. D. 1613. Hig. 1022.

army lay inactive. The air in the camp became putrid. Fevers raged. The enemy hovered round on the mountains. Proviſions and forage became ſcarce: the fields around were red with the freſh graves of the dead. But though the council of war diſagreed about an attack, they concurred in a retreat. They fled with precipitation to Ajmere. The enemy hung on their rear. The Omrahs wrote ſeparately letters to court, with accuſations againſt each other's conduct. Chan Chanan was recalled to Agra, diveſted of all his employments; and he even thought himſelf happy in being able to ſave his life. The diſgrace of this nobleman redounded not to the honour of Chan Jehan. That lord, through whoſe accuſations Chan Chanan chiefly fell, rendered himſelf odious by ingratitude. He had been educated in the family of Chan Chanan: he had riſen, through his influence, to all his honours and offices.

Purvez recalled.

Jehangire, alarmed at the bad ſucceſs of his arms againſt the Rana, diſpatched Mohabet Chan to take the command of the army. He could not have made a better choice. Mohabet was brave in action, intrepid in deliberation; full of dignity and ſpirit; under the abſolute dominion of judgment and good conduct. Purvez was recalled to the preſence. The unfortunate iſſue of the campaign was a ſevere blow to that prince. It affected his reputation; it loſt him his father's affections; and even his proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne.

Emperor's prog[illegible] Ajmere.

Though the choice which Jehangire had made of a general to command his forces againſt the Rana ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, the event did not anſwer the emperor's ſanguine expectations. The army was in too bad a condition, to be ſuddenly reſtored to diſcipline and order. Mohabet could not, with any aſſurance of victory, ſhew them to the enemy. Jehangire was naturally

A. D. 1613. Hig. 1022.

impatient. On the ſecond of Shabân, of the one thouſand and twenty-ſecond year of the Higera, he moved the Leſcar or Imperial camp, with a profeſſed deſign of putting himſelf at the head of the troops employed againſt the Rana. The magnificence of the emperor's progreſs to Ajmere, deſerves a brief deſcription. When the monarchs of Hindoſtan take the field, their camps are a kind of moving cities. That of Jehangire, in his preſent progreſs, was in circumference at leaſt twenty miles. The Leſcar is divided, like a regular town, into ſquares, alleys, and ſtreets. The royal pavilion is always erected in the center: no man raiſes his nearer than the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot around. Every man of quality, every artificer, knows his ground, the ſpace allotted for him, on which ſide, how far from the emperor he muſt pitch his tent. The pavilions of the great officers of the court are, at a diſtance, known by their ſplendor; at hand, by marks which diſtinguiſh the various ranks of the owners. The ſhops and apartments of tradeſmen are alſo known by rule; and no man is for a moment at a loſs how to ſupply his wants. The Leſcar, from a riſing ground, furniſhes one of the moſt agreeable proſpects in the world. Starting up, in a few hours, in an uninhabited plain, it raiſes the idea of a city built by enchantment: and fills the mind with delightful wonder and ſurprize. Even thoſe who leave their houſes in cities, to follow the prince in his progreſs, are frequently ſo charmed with the Leſcar, when ſituated in a beautiful and convenient place, that they cannot prevail with themſelves to remove. To prevent this inconvenience to the court, the emperor, after ſufficient time is allowed to the tradeſmen to follow, orders them to be burnt out of their tents.

Prince Churrum ſent to command in the Decan.

Though the emperor, at his departure from Agra, declared that he was to command in perſon his army in the Decan, that

service was actually destined for Sultan Churrum, his third son. That prince left Ajmere on the twentieth of Zicâda. He was more successful than his brother. Having superseded Mohâbet, he entered the mountains without hesitation. The enemy was seized with a panic, and fled before him. He made himself master of Brampour, the capital of the Rana's dominions, with little opposition. Several skirmishes were fought; but no decisive battle. The Rana sued for peace. His son Kinwâr Kirren came, with magnificent presents to the prince. Churrum received him with apparent kindness and great distinction. The Rana himself, encouraged by Churrum's reception of his son, came unexpectedly into the presence. He threw himself at the feet of Churrum; who very courteously raised him, took him in his arms, and obliged him to sit on his right hand. A. D. 1613. Hig. 1022.

The Rana opened the conference, by excusing his own behaviour, the outrages committed by his people: and he extolled the clemency of the prince, who, though superior in the field, was willing to grant an equitable peace. Churrum knew that the blame of the war did not rest on the Hindoos. He therefore replied, That excuses on the side of the Rana were unnecessary; that it was the duty of every prince to exert the power placed in his hands, in defence of his subjects and dominions; but as war had been kindled, and the fortune of the Mahommedans had prevailed, he thought it his duty to use his success with moderation; and that he was willing to put an immediate end to all differences, by a solid and lasting peace. The Rana consented to pay a tribute to the family of Timur. Some difficulties arose about the sum: the decision was left to Jehangire. To finish the treaty, as well as to be an hostage for the Rana's faith, Kinwâr Kirren, that prince's son, was dispatched to the Imperial presence. Jehangire, at the time, kept his court at Ajmere. He received Kinwâr with great The Rana offers terms.

 distinction.

A. D. 1614. Hig. 1023.

diſtinction. He preſented him with arms, jewels, a rich dreſs for himſelf, and one for each of his principal attendants. He alſo gave to the prince an Imperial elephant, ſumptuouſly capariſoned, and one hundred fine Perſian horſes. He created him by patent an Omrah of five thouſand: but all theſe were ſplendid badges of ſlavery; and the means of degradation from his former independence and rank. Peace was finally ſettled, upon the terms propoſed by Churrum.

Prince Churrum in great favour.

The ſucceſs of the expedition into the Decan, raiſed to a high pitch the reputation of Churrum. His father's affection for him grew with his fame. Men began to turn their eyes upon him, as the heir-apparent of the throne. Jehangire treated him, in his converſation, with the higheſt diſtinction; and he ſeemed anxious to expreſs to the world his affection and regard. A court was appointed for him. Eſtates were ſettled upon him, for the maintenance of a body-guard of a thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot, ſubject only to his commands. Sultan Purvez, in the mean time, declined in his father's eſteem in proportion as Churrum roſe. The prince Chuſero was ſtill in cloſe confinement; and a fair field was left for the ambition of Churrum.

A whim of the emperor.

During the tranſactions in the Decan, a ridiculous whim roſe in the emperor's mind. He ordered his ears to be bored; and then he hung them with large pearls. An edict was iſſued to forbid the court to all nobles who ſhould not do the ſame. He, in the mean time, diſtributed a vaſt quantity of pearls and jewels among the nobility, to induce them to pay obedience to the edict. Many, however, were refractory. Ear-rings are the badge of ſlavery among the Indians; and the Mahommedans, though ſubject to deſpotiſm, wiſhed to avoid the appearance of being

ſlaves.

ſlaves. Jehangire himſelf gives a ridiculous reaſon for this innovation in dreſs. In his memoirs of the firſt twelve years of his reign, he excuſes the introduction of ear-rings, from a motive of religion, to the ſuperſtitions of which, he was by no means often ſubject. His father Akbar, it was pretended, by the merit of a pilgrimage to Ajmere, to the learned and religious Chaja Moin-ul-dien, had been bleſſed with children. Jehangire was the firſt fruits of this piece of devotion: and he ſaid, in the preamble to his edict, that he, who was brought into being by the prayers of Chaja, could do no leſs than become his ſlave, and wear the marks of ſervitude. His reaſons appeared ſo abſurd and ſuperſtitious, that ſome of the nobles taxed him with favouring idolatry. The effeminate cuſtom was, however, introduced by the weight of the Imperial authority; and it ſtill remains a blot on Jehangire's memory, and a laſting mark of the weakneſs of his mind. A. D. 1614. Hig. 1023.

On the twentieth of Mohirrim of the 1024, Sultan Churrum returned to court, covered with laurels. He was received by Jehangire with marks of the higheſt eſteem and affection, which the artful prince converted to means favourable to his ſchemes of ambition, and to gratify his paſſion for revenge. Chan Azim, already mentioned as the principal abettor of Chuſero's rebellion, was accuſed by Churrum of intended treaſon. He had long been excluded from the councils of ſtate; and though his government of Malava had been continued to him, it was more from a fear of his influence, than from a reſpect to his character and perſon. Habituated to the high office of viſier, in the reign of Akbar, he could not brook his want of power. He ſpoke incautiouſly of government; and it is ſaid, that he actually meditated to render himſelf independent of the empire, in his own province of Malava. He was ſeized before his ſchemes were ripe for execution, carried to Disgrace of Chan Azim, and death of Man Singh.

Gualiâr,

A. D. 1615. Hig. 1024.

Gualiâr, and imprisoned in that impregnable fortress. Raja Man Singh, the next great adherent of prince Chusero, died in the course of the same year, in his government of Bengal. He was chief of the Rajaput princes. His honour was great, his reputation high. In the wars of Akbar he signalized himself upon many occasions. He was very instrumental in the conquest of Bengal; the government of which, as a reward for his services, he retained to his death. His son Bao Singh succeeded him in his subaship; being raised by the emperor to the rank of an Omrah of five thousand horse, by the title of Mirza Rajagi.

Character of Sultan Purvez.

When Sultan Churrum carried all things before him in the Imperial presence, his elder brother Purvez resided with all the pomp of royalty at Brampour, as governor of the dominion and province of Candeish. Chan Chanan, in some measure restored to favour, remained with Purvez, and managed, under him, the affairs of the province. In the end of the autumn of the 1024 of the Higera, Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador to the court of Agra, arrived at Brampour. Politeness and affability were natural to Purvez. Full of honour and good-nature, his virtues were of the milder cast: too indolent for the fatigues of business, diffident of his own abilities. He possessed the personal courage of a good soldier; but he was destitute of the conduct necessary to a great general. He followed implicitly the advice of others, when there was no disagreement in their opinions; when there was, he was embarrassed, and could not decide. His genius suited times of tranquillity; and had he lived to possess the throne, he might have rendered his people happy, from his invariable clemency and love of domestic quiet.

His courteous reception of Sir Thomas Roe.

When the arrival of Sir Thomas at Brampour was announced, by the proper officer, to the prince, he sent him a polite message

to

to come into his presence. The ambassador obeyed; and Purvez prepared to receive him in state. In the outward court of the palace, a hundred gentlemen on horseback formed a lane, through which the ambassador, conducted by the Cutwal, passed. In the inner court, the prince sat mounted in a gallery, under a royal canopy. The nobles, according to their rank, formed a line on either side. The chief secretary stood on the steps of the throne, and conveyed, in the concisest terms, to the prince, whatever was addressed to him from below. The behaviour of Purvez was, upon the whole, courteous and obliging: he passed from the usual ceremonies required from ambassadors, and affected to treat Sir Thomas after the manner of his own country. A firmân was immediately issued, for a permission to an English factory to settle at Brampour. The prince invited the ambassador to a private conference, to thank him for his presents; insinuating, that he was anxious to throw off that state and distance, with which he was obliged to receive him, before so great an appearance of nobles.

A. D. 1615. Hig. 1024.

Transactions at the court in Ajmere.

Jehangire, in the mean time, kept his court at Ajmere. He seemed insane upon the article of paying honours to Chaja. He ordered a magnificent palace to be built, in the neighbourhood of Ajmere, for Hafîza Jemmâl, the saint's daughter: the holy man himself, from the austerity of his principles, not chusing, by an acceptance of presents, to depart from the simplicity of life and philosophical character which had raised his fame. The palace built for Jemmâl was remarkable for beauty and situation. Fine baths were erected over natural fountains; and extensive gardens were laid out around it, with great elegance and taste. Tranquillity prevailed over all the empire. The motions of the army in the Decan were rather parade than war. Luxury prevailed in every form. The magnificence of the favourite Sultana was beyond

A. D. 1615. Hig. 1024.

beyond all bounds. Expenſive pageants, ſumptuous entertainments, were the whole buſineſs of the court. The voice of muſic never ceaſed by day in the ſtreet; the ſky was enlightened at night with fire-works and illuminations.

The Engliſh ambaſſador arrives at court.

In the midſt of this feſtivity and joy, the Engliſh ambaſſador arrived at Ajmere. He was received by Jehangire with the utmoſt affability and politeneſs. He even prevented the ambaſſador with expreſſions of reſpect for his maſter, and felicitations to himſelf upon his ſafe arrival at court. The preſents given by the ambaſſador were agreeable to the emperor; but a fine coach ſent by King James pleaſed him moſt of all. He even had the impatience to go into it that very night, and to deſire the ambaſſador's ſervants to draw him around the court of the palace. Sultan Churrum, at the time, was all-powerful in the affairs of the ſtate. To him the ambaſſador applied, as lord of Surat, to redreſs the grievances of the Engliſh at that port. The prince was courteous, and promiſed fair; but he was an enemy to all Chriſtians, whom he called Idolaters; and moſt of all an enemy to the Engliſh. The emperor's favour for the ambaſſador prevailed, in ſome meaſure, over the prince's prejudices and obſtinacy. In the month of January 1615, a firmân was obtained for the eſtabliſhment of a factory at Surat. But it was worded with caution, defective and circumſcribed.

Diſturbances in Guzerat.

In the end of the year 1024, two inſurrections happened in the kingdom of Guzerat. The firſt was a rebellion excited by a youth, deſcended of the ancient kings of that country: the ſecond was an extraordinary incurſion of the Coolies, a race of robbers, who, from their deſarts, infeſted the highways and cultivated country. The young rebel aſſumed the title of Bahadar Shaw. Before he could execute any thing material he died, and Guzerat was relieved from the threatened misfortune of a civil war. Ab-

dalla Chan was ordered, from the Decan, againſt the Coolies. He had commanded the Imperial army againſt the Rana, in the intermediate ſpace of time between the recall of Mohâbet and the arrival of prince Churrum. He was ſucceſsful; but his glory was obſcured by the ſuperior reputation of the prince, who ſucceeded him. Jehangire was not inſenſible of the valour and abilities of Abdalla. To leave a fair field to his favourite ſon, he removed the general to Guzerat. The emperor departed from his uſual humanity, in his inſtructions to Abdalla. The Coolies were a barbarous and cruel race of men: and Jehangire gave directions to extirpate the whole tribe, as enemies to the reſt of mankind. A. D. 1615. Hig. 1024.

Abdalla arrived with great expedition at Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat. Some chiefs who, from the hopes of booty, and through fear, had joined the Coolies, ſubmitted to him in his march. With five hundred ſelect men, the general left Ahmedabâd; and he made ſo much expedition, that he entered the mountainous and almoſt impervious country of the Coolies, before they had any intelligence of his march. The two principal chiefs of the banditti were Eder and Laël. Abdalla ſat down ſuddenly before the caſtle of Eder. That chief, not intimidated, marched out and gave him battle. After an obſtinate conflict of ſome hours, the Coolies were obliged to fly. Eder took the way of the deſart; and left his caſtle and treaſure to the victor. Laël, in the mean time, was on an excurſion of depredation in another corner of Guzerat. He had robbed a great caravan of all its merchandize; and it was the news of this misfortune that directed Abdalla to the enemy. Laël had under him three thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot: but Abdalla had been reinforced. The Cooli did not decline battle. The action was bloody. Victory declared for Abdalla; and the head of Laël, Quaſhed by Abdalla.

A. D. 1615. Hig. 1024.

who was ſlain in the fight, was placed over one of the gates of Ahmedabâd.

Diſturbances in Cabul quaſhed.

The inſurrection at Guzerat was ſcarce quelled, when the Afgans, the natives of the mountains between India and Perſia, revolted; and iſſuing from their hills, laid waſte the neighbouring country, in the province of Cabul. Shaw Bec, governor of Cabul, marched againſt the inſurgents. They had the folly to come to a regular battle with that Suba; and they were defeated. Shaw Bec made the beſt uſe of his victory. He purſued the fugitives beyond Candahar; and reſtored his province to its former tranquillity.

Bad ſucceſs in the Decan.

During the reſidence of Sultan Purvez in Brampour, the capital of Chandeiſh, Chan Jehân, already mentioned, as an Omrah of great diſtinction, deſcended from the royal family of Lodi, commanded the Imperial army, in ſubordination to the prince; and puſhed his expeditions into the unconquered kingdoms of the Decan. Maleck-Amber was at the head of the confederacy againſt the Imperial invaſion. Nothing of conſequence was done by Chan Jehân, on account of diſputes between the officers of the army. The prince Purvez was ordered to take the command in perſon. Upon his appearance at the head of the Imperial troops, ſeveral chiefs ſubmitted; and paid the accuſtomed tribute. Maleck Amber ſtood out alone. The Rana broke his treaty, and appeared in arms. The danger alarmed Jehangire. He had a better opinion of the military abilities of Sultan Churrum, than of thoſe of Purvez. The former was ordered to ſuperſede the latter, which was at once reckoned unjuſt and impolitic; as Churrum was as much deteſted by the ſoldiers, as Purvez was beloved.

In the month of June, one thousand six hundred and sixteen, according to our computation of time, the prince Churrum marched from Ajmere to the Decan. His father, before his departure, conferred upon him the title of Shaw Jehân, or KING OF THE WORLD. This name he retained even after his accession to the empire; and he was distinguished by it, during the remainder of his father's reign; that of Churrum being, from his going upon the present expedition, laid for ever aside. The friends of the family of Timur, represented to the emperor the danger of sending the younger to supersede the elder brother; considering the animosities which subsisted between them. "No matter," said Jehangire, "let them fight it out. The victor shall manage "the war in the Decan: the vanquished may return to me." The speech of a lunatic, more than that of a prudent prince. Purvez, however, was of a milder disposition, than to push his resentment so far. He quietly resigned the command: and was succeeded by Shaw Jehân, much against the inclination of the army.

A. D. 1616. Hig. 1025.

Sultan Churrum's name changed to Shaw Jehân.

Shaw Jehân having carried from Ajmere a great reinforcement, upon his arrival, set the army in motion toward the enemy. The princes of the Decan were intimidated; and they were divided among themselves. They retreated at Shaw Jehân's approach, and sent ambassadors to sue for peace. Shaw Jehân, glad of an opportunity of eclipsing Sultan Purvez, received their submission upon easy terms. Maleck Amber, again deserted, had the resolution not to accede to the pacification. Shaw Jehân, anxious to return with his laurels to court, left the war suspended by a partial truce, rather than finished by a solid peace. On the eleventh of Shawal, of the one thousand and twenty-sixth of the Higera, he arrived in the presence; accompanied by the princes

Forces the princes of the Decan to a peace.

A. D. 1616. Hig. 1025. who had submitted to his arms. Their respective tributes were soon settled, and they were permitted to return.

Cause of the former bad success.

The success of this expedition was by no means the effect of Shaw Jehân's prudent and resolute conduct. The way to a pacification had been paved before he left Ajmere. The emperor, justly astonished at the small progress of his arms in the Decan, enquired minutely into the cause. Chan Chanan, who managed every thing under Sultan Purvez, was secretly in the pay of the enemy. He clogged every measure; and rendered every expedition of no effect. He long endeavoured, by his friends at court, to prevent the removal of Purvez. The emperor had taken his resolution. Shaw Jehân was destined for the command of the army; and Chan Chanan, to deprive him of the honour of a victory over an enemy, who had apparently resisted all his own and his pupil's efforts, persuaded the confederates to sue for peace, in the Imperial presence; without alleging their fear of Shaw Jehân as anyways conducive to their offers of pacification. The emperor, however, would not receive their submission, but through the hands of the prince; anxious to raise the consequence of his favourite son in the eyes of his subjects.

The emperor removes from Ajmere.

In the month of December of the year one thousand six hundred and sixteen, according to the Christian æra, the emperor, with all the accustomed magnificence of his march, left Ajmere. His professed design was to approach nearer to his army on the frontiers, to give them spirit with his presence. After a tedious journey, he arrived at Mando, in the province of Malava; and took up his residence in that city. He did one very popular action on his march. Passing by the place where his son Chusero was confined, he ordered his coach * to stop at the gate. The prince,

* The same that was sent him as a present by our James I.

by his commands, was brought before him. His chains were struck off; and he was placed upon one of the Imperial elephants. The people were overjoyed at the release of Chusero. His affability, and the beauty of his person, recommended him to the vulgar; and they loved him on account of his misfortunes. Many causes concurred to make the emperor adopt this measure. He was informed, that some friends of Shaw Jehân were plotting against the life of Chusero. The minister, Asaph Jah, the favourite Sultana's brother, had also behaved rudely to the unfortunate prince, and betrayed symptoms of dislike and revenge. Shaw Jehân was probably at the bottom of all. His friends, without his permission, would scarce have attempted the life of his brother; and he had been lately married to the daughter of Asaph Jah. The emperor was enraged at their wickedness and presumption; and, by an act of power, frustrated, for the time, their designs.

A. D. 1616. Hig. 1025.

The power of Noor-Mâhil over the emperor's affections, had not in the least abated. She, for the most part, ruled over him with absolute sway: sometimes his spirit broke forth beyond her controul. Her brother's alliance with Shaw Jehan, kept her in the interest of that prince: and her aversion to Chusero and Purvez was equal to her regard for him. An edict was issued to change her name from Noor-Mâhil into that of Noor-Jehân, or the LIGHT OF THE WORLD. To distinguish her from the other wives of the emperor, she was always addressed by the title of SHAHE, or Empress. Her name was joined with that of the emperor, on the current coin. She was the spring which moved the great machine of the state. Her family took rank immediately after the princes of the blood. They were admitted, at all hours, into the presence; nor were they excluded from the most secret apartments of the seraglio. By her influence, Chan Azim,

Great power of the empress.

A. D. 1618. Hig. 1027.

Azim, the late visier, was released from his confinement in Gualiâr, and admitted into court.

Transactions at court during its residence at Mando.

It was after Jehangire's arrival at Mando, that the affairs of the Decan were settled. The English ambassador remained still at court. The affability and good-nature of Jehangire did not, for some time, overbalance Shaw Jehân's aversion to the English nation. An incident at Surat was magnified into an insult upon the Imperial power, by the prince and his party. The ambassador, however, removed the emperor's jealousy: and he had the address to gain, at last, the favour of the prince, the minister, and the empress; and obtained the privileges of trade, which were the object of his embassy. An ambassador from Persia was not so successful: he was received with little ceremony, and dismissed with a coolness little short of contempt. He came to negociate a loan at the court of Agra; and Jehangire was in no humour to give any of his money away. The emperor even descended into meanness, on the occasion. The Persian had been served in all necessaries from court. A bill was ordered to be sent him, when he announced his design of departing. He was obliged to pay the last farthing; but the presents which he had brought for the emperor were valued, and deducted from the sum demanded.

Emperor's progress to Guzerat, and return to Agra.

The emperor, having settled the affairs of the Decan, and spent at Mando seventeen months, in hunting and other rural amusements, marched, with his Lescâr or great camp, into the kingdom of Guzerat. In the latter end of the Autumn of the one thousand and twenty-seventh of the Higera, he arrived at Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat. He took, from that city, the route of Cambait; where he had ordered ships and magnificent barges to be ready for him, to take his amusement on the ocean, with all his court. He was soon tired of the agitation of the vessels on the waves; and returned to Ahmedabâd on the second of Ramzan, of

the year one thouſand and twenty-ſeven. He did not long remain at Ahmedabâd. He took the route of Agra, and arrived in that capital after an abſence of near five years. A. D. 1618. Hig. 1027.

Death and character of the viſier.

Soon after the court returned to Agra, the good old viſier, Actemâd-ul-Dowla, the emperor's father-in-law, gave up a life, which, on account of his many virtues, had become dear to the people. Bred up in the ſchool of Adverſity, Actemâd-ul-Dowla had learned to ſubdue his paſſions, to liſten to the dictates of Reaſon, to feel for the misfortunes of mankind. Having raiſed himſelf from ſervitude to authority, from indigence to honour and wealth, he knew the duties of every ſtation. He was not leſs converſant with the world in practice, than he was from his extenſive reading and the well-weighed reflections of his own mind. An œconomiſt in every thing, but in charity, he was only covetous of wealth to relieve the needy and the poor. He choſe rather to maintain the dignity of his rank by the number of his friends, than by that of domeſtics, followers, and ſlaves. The people loved him as a father, but feared him as a father too; for he tempered ſeverity with moderation, and lenity with the rigour of the laws The empire flouriſhed under his wiſe adminiſtration. No evil but luxury prevailed. That weed takes root in proſperity; and, perhaps, can never be eradicated from ſo rich a ſoil.---The empreſs was inconſolable for the death of her father. She propoſed, at once, as a proof of her affection and magnificence, to perpetuate his memory in a monument of ſolid ſilver. The Imperial architect ſoon convinced her, that a metal ſo precious would not be the moſt laſting means of tranſmitting the viſier's fame to poſterity. "All ages," ſaid he, "are full "of avarice; and even the empire of the houſe of Timur, like all "ſublunary things, is ſubject to revolution and change." She dropt her purpoſe; and a magnificent fabric of ſtone ſtill retains, in Agra, the name of Actemâd-ul-Dowla.

JEHAN-

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. IV.

Difpofition of the court—Expedition to Sewalic—The emperor in Cafhmire—Difturbances in the Decan—Prince Chufero murdered—Rebellion of Shaw Jehân—He is repulfed at Agra—Defeated at Delhi—Purfued by his brother Purvez—Defeated at the Nirbidda—He reduces Orixa, Bengal and Behar—He marches toward the capital—Totally defeated by Purvez—Befieges Brampour—In great diftrefs—His fubmiffion—Candahar loft to the empire.

A. D. 1618. Hig. 1027. Difpofition of the court.

THE death of the old vifier produced no alteration in the affairs of the court of Agra. Habituated, under his father, to public bufinefs, Afiph Jah was active in his high department; and Jehangire himfelf had acquired a confiderable degree of experience and knowledge, in the paft years of his reign. The favourite Sultana was not in the mean time idle. She even attended to tranfactions in which her own paffions were not immediately concerned; and often gave feafonable advice to her confort. She had fuch an afcendancy over the emperor's mind, that he feldom durft attempt any material meafure without her concurrence. She difpofed of the higheft offices at pleafure; and the greateft honours were conferred at her nod. Afiph was attentive to his fifter's humours. He knew the pride and haughtinefs of her difpofition; and he forgot the equality which nature gives to a brother, in a profound refpect for the emprefs.

Toward

Toward the close of the year, the Raja Bickermajît was sent, with a considerable force, to the mountains of Sewalic, to the north-east of the Ganges. In the numerous vallies which intersect that immense ridge of hills, many tribes lived, under their native princes, who had never been subdued by the arms of the followers of Mahommed. Safe in their inaccessible retreats, they often issued out, in a depredatory manner, from their fastnesses, and harassed, with incursions, the northern provinces. Bickermajît, after having encountered with great difficulties, penetrated into the heart of their country, and sat down before the fort of Eangurra, which was situated upon a rocky mountain, and thought impregnable. It fell soon into his hands; but the reduction of all the tribes was not finished till the close of the succeeding year. Twenty-two petty princes agreed to pay a certain tribute; and they sent hostages to Agra, as securities for their future obedience.

A. D. 1618. Hig. 1028. Expedition into the mountains of Sewalic.

The eleventh of Zicâda was rendered remarkable by the birth of a son to the prince Shaw Jehân, by Sultana Kudsia, the daughter of Asiph Jah. Jehangire, who, from his affection to his son, was highly pleased with this increase in his family, called the infant AURUNGZEBE, or the Ornament of the Throne.—To avoid the approaching heat of the season, the emperor resolved to remove his court to the delightful country of Cashmire. Shaw Jehân accompanied his father in his progress. They entered the mountains of Sewalic, in their way, and visited the fort of Eangurra, which had some time before surrendered to Bickermajît. Jehangire, in a pretended zeal for religion, ordered all the images of the gods of the Hindoos, which were found in a temple within the fortress, to be broken to pieces; and he assisted in consecrating the place for the worship of God, after the manner prescribed in the Coran.

Aurungzêbe born.

 In

A. D. 1619. Hig. 1028.

Return of the ambaſſador to Perſia.

In his progreſs to Caſhmire, the emperor was met by Chan Alum, from his embaſſy to the court of Perſia. Jehangire, after reflecting upon the contemptuous treatment which he had given to the Perſian ambaſſador, had reſolved to remove any coldneſs which might ariſe on that account, between the two empires. He, for that purpoſe, had diſpatched Chan Alum, with magnificent preſents to Shaw Abas of Perſia. This nobleman was received with every mark of reſpect. The treaties between the two crowns were renewed and confirmed; and the Perſian loaded him with rich preſents, accompanying them with a letter of friendſhip to Jehangire; without mentioning the injurious reception of his own miniſter at the Indian court.

The great roads improved.

Jehangire, fond of making progreſſes through his extenſive dominions, made, this year, great additions to the convenience of travelling. Conſiderable ſums were iſſued from the treaſury, for mending the great roads of the empire. Wells were dug at the end of every two miles; and a building for the reception of wayfarers, was erected near each well. This improvement began on the road to Caſhmire, where Jehangire arrived in the beginning of the year 1029. He was highly pleaſed with that moſt beautiful province. The principal valley of which it conſiſts being much more elevated than the plains of India, is cool and pleaſant in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year. A profound tranquillity reigning over all the empire, Jehangire remained many months in Caſhmire. He went daily to the chace; and wandered, after a variety of rural pleaſures, over the face of that charming and flouriſhing country. He did not return to Lahore, till the month of Mohirrim of the year that ſucceeded his arrival at Caſhmire.

The

The emperor had ſcarce arrived at Lahore, when he received advices, that the princes of the Decan, who had engaged to pay a certain tribute, had driven away, by force, the deputies who had been ſent to receive it. The refractory tributaries backed this violent meaſure with an army of ſixty thouſand horſe. They encamped at Ballapour. The chiefs of the confederates were Nizam-ul-Muluc, Adil Chan, and Cuttub. They were deſcended of the Mahommedan princes, who, at the fall of the Patan empire, had aſſumed the ſtate and independence of princes in the Decan.

A. D. 1620. Higer. 1029. Diſturbances in the Decan.

Jehangire, upon receiving this intelligence, immediately diſpatched Shaw Jehân to Agra. He gave him a commiſſion to command the Imperial army ſtationed in and near that city. The prince did not continue long at Agra. He marched, on the twentieth of Siffer, toward Brampour. His force conſiſted of forty thouſand horſe. Abdul Huſſein, an experienced officer, was his ſecond in command. Letters came to the prince, on his march, from the Imperial governor of Mando, that a conſiderable detachment of the enemy had croſſed the Nirbidda, and were laying waſte the country. Abdul Huſſein was immediately detached againſt them, with five thouſand horſe. That general came up with the plunderers, defeated them, ſlew many on the ſpot, and purſued the fugitives to the hills. The prince himſelf continued his route to Brampour.

Shaw Jehân ſent to quell the inſurgents.

Chan Chanan, who commanded at Brampour, was in a manner beſieged in that city by the enemy. They had traverſed the provinces of Berâr and Chandeiſh; and ſpread their devaſtations to the gates of Brampour. The Imperialiſts recovered their ſpirit, upon the prince's arrival with an army; and the hopes of the inſurgents began to vaniſh. Some petty Rajas, who had

The rebels reduced.

A. D. 1620. Hig. 1029.

joined the confederates, took the firſt opportunity of throwing themſelves at the feet of Shaw Jehân. They were pardoned, but obliged to pay the arrear of their tribute, which amounted to fifty lacks. The Mahommedan princes, being deſerted by the Hindoo Rajas, their troops mutinied, and diſſentions roſe in their councils. They ſeparated in diſguſt and deſpair, each to his own territory. Shaw Jehân divided his army into five parts, and followed the rebels. In the ſpace of a few months, without any conſiderable action, he reduced the inſurgents to their former obedience; forcing them to pay the arrears of their tribute, which was now ſettled at the annual ſum of fifty-five lacks of roupees.

Chuſero delivered into the hands of Shaw Jehân.

When Shaw Jehân had received orders from his father to quell the diſturbances in the Decan, he requeſted that his brother, the unfortunate prince Chuſero, might be put into his hands. He had often made the ſame requeſt before, but to no effect. Jehangire juſtly doubted his ſincerity, when he profeſſed, that it was a regard for a brother that induced him to wiſh to have Chuſero in his poſſeſſion. He knew the ambition of Shaw Jehân: he ſtill had an affection for Chuſero. Aſiph Jah, even the favourite Sultana had gone into the views of Shaw Jehân; but the emperor remained long inflexible. Shaw Jehân, for ſome time, ſeemed to drop his deſigns. He, in the mean time, grew daily in his father's eſteem; and Chuſero declined in proportion as his brother roſe. When the alarming news from the Decan arrived at Lahore, the emperor's hopes reſted all on Shaw Jehân. The artful prince, in the critical moment, renewed his requeſt, with regard to Chuſero, and he was delivered into his hands.

The Sultana ſuſpects his deſigns.

Though Noor-Mâhil had been formerly in the intereſt of Shaw Jehân, ſhe had lately many reaſons to alter her opinion concerning that prince. Her penetrating eye had pierced the veil which

he had drawn over his designs. She saw the great lines of ambition, and an unrelenting perseverance in pursuit of power, in all his conduct. She communicated her suspicions to Jehangire: she told him, that Shaw Jehân must be curbed; that he manifestly aspired to the throne; that all his actions tended to gain popularity; that his apparent virtues were hypocrisy, and not the offspring of a generous and honest mind; and that he waited but for a convenient opportunity to throw off the mask of deceitful duty and feigned allegiance. The emperor was convinced; but it was too late. Chusero was already in the hands of Shaw Jehân; and the latter was at the head of an army. Silence now was prudence; and a melancholy anxiety succeeded to condescending weakness.

A. D. 1621. Hig. 1030.

Character of Chusero.

Chusero, though popular on account of the beauty of his person, and his misfortunes, was a prince of a haughty disposition. He was governed by furious passions. His mind was in a perpetual agitation, without pointing to any end. He was now volatile and cheerful; now dark and sullen. He often laughed at misfortune; he was often enraged at trifles; and his whole conduct betrayed every mark of an insanity of mind. His judgment was little: his memory weak. He always preferred the last advice, having no power of mind to distinguish propriety, no retention to make just comparisons. His designs were therefore often ill-founded; his actions irresolute and undecisive, and they always terminated in disgrace and ruin. Yet he had something about him that commanded respect in the midst of his infirmities. Nobody could look at his conduct without disgust; none observed his manner or saw his person without regard and a kind of esteem. Had he not been soured by misfortunes, he was naturally of a generous and tender disposition; but adversity

stopping

A. D. 1621. Hig. 1030.

ſtopping up the current of his mind, threw it out of its channel, and he, at laſt, became indifferent concerning his own fate.

He is aſſaſſinated.

Shaw Jehân, for ſome time, affected to treat the unfortunate Chuſero with attention and reſpect. But this was a deluſive gleam before a ſtorm. His deſigns were not yet ripe for execution. To remove Chuſero would be to no purpoſe, till other obſtacles to his own ambition were removed. Fortune favoured his deſigns. His ſucceſs in the Decan raiſed his reputation; the plunder of the enemy furniſhed the means of gaining for him the army. They expreſſed their inviolable attachment to his perſon and views. He threw off the maſk at once. He diſregarded the mandates of the court of Agra; and to complete his crimes, he ordered the unfortunate Chuſero to be aſſaſſinated by ruffians, under the walls of Azere. He aſſumed, ſoon after, the Imperial titles; laying the foundation of his throne in a brother's blood.

Manner of his death.

Though all mankind were convinced, that Shaw Jehân was acceſſary to the murder of Chuſero, he had taken previous meaſures to conceal the intended crime. When he had quelled the inſurrection in the Decan, he became apparently melancholy, and pretended to fall into a diſeaſe. His friends were full of anxiety. One only was in the ſecret; and he began to inſinuate, that the prince had received intelligence, that Jehangire had determined to raiſe Chuſero to the throne. He expatiated upon the uncertain fate of Shaw Jehân; and upon the doubtfulneſs of their own fortune, as connected with that prince. One Raja Bandor, a notorious villain, underſtood the meaning of Shaw Jehân's friend. In hopes of a reward, he went at midnight to the tent of Chuſero, and pretending a meſſage from the emperor, he was admitted by the attendants of the prince, without ſuſ-

picion. He found him fast asleep, and stabbed him to the heart. The favourite wife of Chusero, the daughter of the visier Chan Azem, came to her husband's tent in the morning. She found him cold in his blood; she filled the camp and the neighbouring city of Azere with her cries. She ran about distracted, and called down the vengeance of God upon the murderers. Shaw Jehân, who had removed to the country for the benefit of the air, returned upon the news of Chusero's death, and shewed such apparent symptoms of grief, that he was believed, for some time, innocent of the murder.

A. D. 1621. Hig. 1030.

The news of the death of Chusero came soon to the emperor's ears. Retaining still some affection for his unfortunate son, he was shocked at the murder, and gave himself up to grief. He suspected Shaw Jehân, but common fame had not yet fixed the crime on that prince. Jehangire wrote a public letter to him and his principal officers, signifying that he was determined to make a strict and severe enquiry concerning the assassination; and that he would punish the murderers with the utmost rigour. He ordered the body to be dug up from the grave, and examined. He openly accused Shaw Jehân; who, finding himself discovered, resolved to continue in his rebellion.

The emperor enraged at the murder.

The author of the life of Shaw Jehân, ascribes his rebellion to the violence and ambition of the favourite Sultana. That woman, says the writer, finding that the health of the emperor declined, was apprehensive that the crown would devolve on Shaw Jehân; who had, for some time, been the determined enemy of her influence and power. She, therefore, resolved to ruin the affairs of that prince; and to fix the succession in the person of Shariâr, the fourth son of Jehangire, who was married to her own daughter, by her former husband Shere Afkun. Her

Apology for Shaw Jehân.

absolute

A. D. 1622. Hig. 1031.

absolute dominion over the emperor obtained credit to her aspersions. She actually procured a promise for an alteration of the succession: and it was the certain intelligence of this circumstance, continues his apologist, that drove Shaw Jehân to extremes.

He assumes the Imperial titles.

Though Shaw Jehân's designs upon the throne were no secret, he did not assume the Imperial titles till the twenty-seventh of the second Jemmâd of the one thousand and thirty-first of the Higera. He immediately, with a numerous army, took the route of Delhi, where, at that time, his father resided. The news of his march flew before him, and reached the ears of Jehangire. That monarch became anxious, irresolute, and perplexed; and to complete the confusion in his councils, advices were, at the same time, received, that Shaw Abas, king of Persia, at the head of a great force, had surprised Candahar. The emperor was thunderstruck at this double intelligence of approaching misfortune. The rebellious prince had the flower of the Imperial army under his command. Jehangire, as the last resort, had recourse to policy. Instead of arming for his own defence, he dissembled his knowledge of his son's intentions. He wrote him affectionate letters from day to day. He praised his former actions. He commended his present alacrity, in coming so expeditiously to his aid against the Persian. Shaw Jehân was not to be flattered out of his designs. He saw through his father's policy, and he gradually advanced; but being overtaken by the rains, he was obliged to halt some months at Mando, the capital of the province of Malava.

Is repulsed at Agra.

Shaw Jehân in his march made the first hostile attempt upon the castle of Agra. In that fortress was lodged a great part of the Imperial treasure. Upon the news of the prince's departure from Mando, the emperor sent Asiph Jah, the visier, to transport

Asiph Jah, the visier, to transport the treasure from Agra to Lahore. Etabâr Chan, who commanded the fortress, was unwilling to risk the treasure on the road, as the news of Shaw Jehân's near approach was arrived. The importunities of Asiph prevailed. Etabâr with a party escorted the treasure: some of the enemy appeared in view. Etabâr immediately retired, with his convoy, to the castle of Agra; and Asiph made the best of his way to Delhi. Shaw Jehân, immediately upon his arrival, ordered the castle to be assaulted; but Bickermajît, who commanded the attack, was so warmly received, that he was glad to retire, with the loss of five hundred men. The prince, enraged at this disappointment, delivered up to plunder some of the nobility's houses at Agra; and then took the rout of Delhi. A. D. 1623. Hig. 1032.

His demands on his father

The prince having advanced, formed his camp at Feridabâd. The city of Delhi was alarmed: the emperor perplexed. A letter, in the mean time, was brought to him from his rebellious son. Shaw Jehân demanded, That the command of all the Imperial troops should be given to him without reserve: that orders should be sent to the governors of the provinces to receive all their future instructions from his hands: that permission should be given him to receive, into his possession, all the warlike stores; that he should have access to the royal magazines and treasures to supply him with every necessary, for carrying on the war against Persia: and that the impregnable castle of Rentimpour should be placed in his hands, as a place of security for his family, against the machinations of the Sultana, during his absence in the north.

refused.

Jehangire was enraged beyond measure at proposals which, if granted, would actually dethrone him. His resentment and pride got the better of his temporizing timidity. He issued out

A D. 1632. Hig. 1032. an edict declaring his ſon a rebel, ſhould he not diſband his army, and return to his duty, by a certain day. Another edict confiſcated all his eſtates, by recalling the grants which had been given him, for a magnificent ſubſiſtence. The eſtates were conferred upon Sultan Shariâr; who was, at the ſame time, inveſted with a commiſſion to carry on, with the utmoſt vigour, the Perſian war. Ruſtum Suffavi, an experienced and able officer, was placed next in command to the prince in the expedition. Ruſtum was himſelf a Perſian, a near relation to Shaw Abas, and deduced his paternal deſcent from the Imperial family of Suffvi.

Preparations againſt him.

The Imperial edicts made no impreſſion on Shaw Jehân. The emperor flew from the pen to the ſword. The troops ſtationed near the capital flocked to his ſtandard: others joined him from the provinces. Aſiph Jah and the Sultana had foreſeen the ſtorm, and the adherents of the emperor were on their march to Delhi, when the rebel prince was on his route from the Decan. Jehangire, in a few days, ſaw forty thouſand horſe under his command. Scarce ten thouſand of theſe were of the ſtanding force of the empire, ſo that Shaw Jehân had ſtill a manifeſt ſuperiority.

He endeavours to excuſe his conduct.

The river Jumna, being in the dry ſeaſon of the year fordable, the emperor croſſed it; and both armies arrived at Belochpoor, and remained ſome days in hourly expectations of a battle. The prince, in the mean time, endeavoured to excuſe his own conduct, by affirming, that he was driven to extremes, by the intrigues of the Sultana againſt his power. She carried, he ſaid, all before her with the emperor; and to throw diſgrace upon him, perſuaded Jehangire to order him to the Perſian war, without the neceſſary ſupplies of money and warlike ſtores. He, therefore, alleged, that his demands had been made in ſo peremptory a

manner,

A. D. 1623. Hig. 1032.

manner, merely becaufe he did not confider his father as a free agent, fwayed and commanded as he was by the pernicious counfels of a vindictive and ambitious woman. Thefe allegations leffened his crime in the eyes of the fuperficial; and tended to ftrengthen in his army, the attachment to his intereft, which he had purchafed with donations.

Diftrefs of the emperor.

The emperor was impatient to come to action with his fon. Afiph Jah, the vifier, oppofed this meafure, by affirming that it was imprudent to rifque all, with a fmall force, while reinforcements were daily expected. The emperor fufpected his fidelity; and he had fome reafon. Afiph was faid to have provided againft all events, by keeping up a correfpondence with Shaw Jehân. His enemies affirmed, that it was his advice which haftened the prince from the Decan; though this agrees but little with the preparations which Afiph had made againft Shaw Jehân from forefeeing his rebellion. Jehangiré, however, believed his minifter guilty. He gave himfelf up to rage and defpair.

His dream.

In the heat of his imagination upon the occafion, he fell afleep in his tent. He dreamed that he faw a pole fixed in the ground, before the Imperial palace. On the top of the pole, which almoft reached the fkies, a meteor feemed to play, and to lighten the whole world with its fplendor. An elephant came from the weft and overturned the pole. The meteor fell and expired on the ground, leaving the whole earth in profound darknefs. Jehangire ftarted from his bed. Naturally fuperftitious, he forefaw fome coming evil in his dream. He related it, in the morning, to his Omrahs. None ventured to interpret it; and when they ftood in filence in the prefence, a courier arrived, with advice that Mohâbet Chan, with all the forces of Punjâb, was at the diftance of a few miles from the Imperial camp. This fudden

A. D. 1623. Hig. 1032.

and unexpected reinforcement diffused an universal joy. The emperor cried out, That his dream was interpreted. Mohâbet joined the army in the evening; and private orders were immediately issued to the officers to prepare for action by the dawn of day.

He prepares for battle.

The Imperial army was in motion while yet it was dark; and Shaw Jehân, apprized of their march, did not decline to engage. He advanced apace. The two armies came in sight of each other opposite to Tuglick-abad. The Imperialists were commanded in chief by Asiph Jah, the visier, who was posted in the center. Mohâbet Chan had charge of the right wing; Nawasis Chan, of the left. Abdalla commanded the advanced guards, consisting of three thousand horse. The Emperor himself stood behind the center; and to encourage the generals, sent to each some presents, as a mark of his confidence and favour.

The action begins.

Some of the rebel lords, who thought they were giving good advice to Shaw Jehân, prevailed upon him not to expose his person in the field. He retired to a small distance; and Raja Bickermajît marshalled his troops in order of battle. The Raja placed himself in the center: Raja Bimé commanded the right, Darab Chan the left wing. The action was begun by the advanced guards on both sides. Those of Shaw Jehân were defeated, at the first onset, by a strange accident. Abdalla, who commanded the advanced guard of the Imperialists, spurring on his horse among the enemy, with a few officers in the secret, joined the rebels. His troops, mistaking their commander's perfidy for valour, rushed forward to support him; and having engaged the enemy hand to hand, drove them back upon their own line.

Asiph

A. D. 1623. Hig. 1032.

Shaw Jehân defeated.

Asiph Jah took immediate advantage of the confusion occasioned by the flight of Shaw Jehân's advanced guard. He pressed forward with the center of the Imperialists, and came to action with Raja Bickermajît. The shock was violent, and the battle continued obstinate for some time. Both the commanders exerted themselves to the utmost. At length the fortune of Asiph prevailed. Raja Bickermajît fell, pierced through the head with an arrow. The center of the rebels immediately fled; and, at that instant, Mohâbet drove the left wing from the field. Raja Bimé, in the mean time, pressed hard upon Nawasis Chan, who commanded the right wing of the Imperialists. The dust was so great, that the contending armies were involved in darkness. They felt for each other with their swords. Nawasis was driven from the field. Many of his officers were killed, and some taken prisoners. Raja Bimé, imagining he was returning after a complete victory, fell in with the troops of Asiph Jah. They mixed undistinguished with each other. Slaughter and confusion reigned. Wounds were inflicted at random. Chance governed all. Every individual considered himself as in the midst of ten thousand foes. The armies retreated to their camps. The field was left to the dead.

Circumstances.

Both parties, at first, claimed the honour of the victory, but the consequences declared it to belong to Jehangire. Though both the emperor and Shaw Jehân had been kept out of the line at the beginning of the action, by the assiduity of their friends, when the battle became hot, they mixed with their respective armies. Bickermajît, observing the emperor, pressed forward to seize him; but in the attempt was slain. The spirit of the rebels fell with their leader. Shaw Jehân presented himself to the runaways in vain. Neither threats nor promises would do. A panic had seized them; and though the prince cried aloud, That

he

A. D. 1623. Hig. 1032.

he himſelf, as good and as brave an officer as Bickermajît, was alive, they liſtened not as they paſſed, and ſoon fled beyond the power of hearing.

during the battle.

Shaw Jehân became almoſt diſtracted with his misfortunes. He reſolved ſeriouſly to prevent future miſery and diſtreſs, by an immediate death. His adherents, however, prevailed upon him to retreat. He fled to the mountains of Mewat; his army falling off as he fled. Jehangire was the more aſtoniſhed at his good fortune, the more it was unexpected. When the news of Abdalla's treachery was brought him, he had given all over for loſt. He diſtruſted Aſiph Jah; and he ſent a meſſenger to recal him from the front, when that miniſter was upon the point of engaging the enemy. Fortunately for the emperor, the meſſenger did not come up to the viſier till the affair was decided. The latter obeyed Jehangire, and brought him the news of victory.

Sultan Purvez arrives in the camp.

The battle was ſcarce decided, when Sultan Purvez, in conſequence of his father's orders, arrived from Allahabad, in the Imperial camp. Jehangire received him with an exceſs of joy. The victory over his rebellious ſon had elevated his ſpirits, and diſſipated all his fears. He ſent his ſeraglio before him to Agra; and raiſed Purvez, under the tuition of Mohâbet, to the command of the army. Shaw Jehân, in the mean time, with a few adherents, purſued his way to the Decan; and Purv ez was ordered to follow him with a conſiderable force. The fugitive prince ſtopt with his adherents, to refreſh themſelves at the river Genîva. Purvez, in the mean time, came up; a cannonade enſued, and the Imperialiſts having forced their paſſage, Shaw Jehân retreated with precipitation.

We

A. D. 1623. Hig. 1032.

Affairs in the Decan.

We muſt, for a moment, loſe ſight of the prince, in the misfortunes of his adherents. The Emperor in his extreme affection for Shaw Jehân, had, while yet he remained in his duty, ſubmitted to his government an extenſive diviſion of the empire, conſiſting of ſeveral provinces. In that number was the rich kingdom of Guzerat. Bickermajît, who was ſlain in the action near Delhi, had been governor of that province; and when he joined the prince in his expedition againſt his father, Suffvi Chan was left in the ſuperintendency of Guzerat. Abdalla, whoſe perfidy, in deſerting his ſovereign in the late battle, we have already mentioned, was rewarded, by the prince, for his treachery, with the government vacant by the death of Bickermajît. Unwilling to leave the prince in his diſtreſs, Abdalla diſpatches his friend Offâder Chan to command, in the mean time, in that province. Offâder arriving with a ſmall force at Ahmedabad, the capital, diſplaced Suffvi Chan, the Imperial governor. Suffvi fled to Hankſi. He wrote from thence to Naſir, the governor of Patan. Underſtanding that Suffvi was no ſtranger to the march of Sultan Dawir Buxſh the ſon of Chuſero, under the tuition of his maternal grandfather Chan Azem, to command for the emperor in Guzerat, Naſir blamed him for his flight. He met Suffvi, with a force at Caperbenîz. They reſolved to march to Ahmedabad: and ſetting forward in the evening, they arrived next morning under the walls of the city. Dividing their forces into three bodies; each body attacked a gate. The elephants broke them open: the Imperialiſts entered, and Offâder was ſeized.

Shaw Jehân's party defeated in Guzerat.

Shaw Jehân, after the rencounter at the River Genîva, fled to Mando, the capital of Malava. News was brought to him in that city, that Guzerat was loſt. He was much affected; but Abdalla made light of the matter. That Omrah marched toward Ahmedabad with ſeven thouſand horſe. When he arrived

A. D. 1623. Hig. 1032.

at Waſſet, he found Suffvi, now the Imperial Suba, ready unexpectedly to receive him. This lord, finding that prince Dawir Buxſh and Chan Azem had lagged on their march, provided himſelf with an army. He poſted his forces about twelve miles from Ahmedabad. Abdalla endeavoured to turn his rear. He was prevented by the vigilance of Suffvi; and he, therefore, reſolved to come to battle. Dividing his army into three columns, he advanced, in that order, upon the enemy. Naſir Chan ſupported Suffvi, with his courage and conduct. The battle was obſtinate. Many officers of rank fell on the ſide of Abdalla. He was routed, with great ſlaughter. He fled to Surat. The country people cut off the greateſt part of the ſhattered remains of his followers in their retreat. He ſoon after, with a few troops, betook himſelf to Brampour.

Purvez defeats Shaw Jehân at the Nirbidda.

The prince Purvez and Mohâbet, after the affair at the river Geniva, returned to the Emperor, who was encamped under the walls of Fattépour. The diſturbances in Guzerat convinced Jehangire, that the flames of civil war could be only extinguiſhed by the total ruin of Shaw Jehân. He, therefore, ordered Purvez and Mohâbet, at the head of the Rajaputs, in the Imperial pay, to purſue the rebel and to take him alive. Shaw Jehân left Mando, with a reſolution to try his fortune in a battle. He paſſed the river Nirbidda and threw up works to defend the ford. He was, by this time, reduced to great diſtreſs. His adherents gradually deſerted him. He became tired of hoſtilities which promiſed no ſucceſs. He ſent to his brother Purvez, for very moderate terms. Purvez, by the advice of Mohâbet, amuſed him with hopes, without coming to any determined point. The uſual precautions were neglected on the ſide of Shaw Jehân; and Mohâbet, who watched an opportunity, croſſed the river and ſurprized him in his camp. He was defeated with great ſlaughter.

Shaw

Shah Jehân fled from the field, through Golconda; and then took the rout of Orixa, to Bengal. The governor of Orixa, Ahmed Beg, fled on the prince's approach. That province was given to Kulli Chan, one of Shaw Jehân's adherents; whilſt he himſelf advanced to Burdwan, and took poſſeſſion of that diſtrict. He did not continue long at Burdwan. Ibrahim, governor of Bengal, had collected all his forces to Raja Mâhil, to oppoſe the unexpected invaſion; and Shaw Jehân marched toward the place. A. D. 1624. Hig. 1033. Shaw Jehan flies to Orixa.

When the prince had arrived within a few miles of Raja Mâhil, the Suba abandoned that fortreſs as untenable. He retreated, in good order, to the fort of Tellia-Gurri; which had been built to defend the paſs between the mountains and the Ganges. In the fort were a number of Europeans. He ſtrengthened them with a reinforcement of his beſt troops, whilſt he encamped his army on the oppoſite bank of the river. Shaw Jehân, upon his arrival, inveſted the fort of Tellia-Gurri. He made little impreſſion; the Europeans being excellent gunners and engineers. He attempted to croſs, but was repulſed, having but a few boats. A neighbouring Raja, however, provided the prince with a fleet of boats; and in theſe he tranſported two thouſand horſe. Ibrahim, finding that he was to be attacked in his camp, croſſed the river in his turn. He drew up in order of battle, againſt the prince; but in the action his troops were defeated and he himſelf ſlain. Bengal fell, with the Suba, from the empire. Rumi, the chief engineer of Shaw Jehân, in the mean time, found means to carry a mine, under the fort of Tellia-Gurri, and blew up about twenty yards of the rampire. The place was taken by aſſault, and the garriſon put to the ſword. Enters Bengal, and defeats the Suba.

Shaw Jehân, after this great and unexpected ſucceſs attending his arms, marched to Dacca, where Ibrahim, the late Suba, had Bengal ſubmits;

 depoſited

A. D. 1624.
Hig. 1033.

depoſited his own and the Imperial treaſure. He no ſooner appeared before Dacca, than it ſurrendered. Forty lacks of roupees were found in ſpecie, beſides jewels, much ſpoil, and warlike ſtores. Dacca was the laſt place in Bengal, that held out for the emperor. The Rajas, the hereditary governors of diſtricts, and all thoſe who held eſtates of the crown, crowded into the court of the prince; and with preſents and proffers of allegiance, endeavoured to ſecure their poſſeſſions. The whole kingdom remained a new ſovereign; and Darab, the ſon of Chan Chanan, was raiſed to the high office of Suba under Shaw Jehân.

and Behâr.

The ambition of the prince was not to be confined to Bengal. He turned his eyes upon the adjoining province of Behâr. He ſcarce had permitted his army to breathe after the conqueſt of Dacca, before he led them into Behâr. Muchlis Chan, the Imperial governor of that province, fled to Allahabad, at the approach of the prince. The gates of Patna, the capital, were left open to receive him. He kept his court in the Suba's palace. The Zemindârs crowded, from all quarters, into the city, made their ſubmiſſion, and, with preſents, obtained his favour. But what was of greater conſequence to the prince, Mubârick, governor of the impregnable fort of Rhotas, which had never been taken by force, came and preſented to him the keys. Shaw Jehân was exceedingly rejoiced at this piece of good fortune. He had now a place of ſecurity for his family; and he found his mind, as alleviated from care, fitter to encounter the dangers of the field and the viciſſitudes of fortune.

He divides his army into three parts.

The prince having reſtored the civil government of Behâr, which had been ruined by his invaſion, raiſed Naſir Chan to the office of Suba. He himſelf took again the field. He divided his army into three parts. The firſt he placed under the command

mand of Abdalla, who had been lately ſo unfortunate in Guzerat. He ordered that officer to proceed to Allahabad, with his diviſion; to drive away the Suba of Behâr from thence, and to take poſſeſſion of the place. Deria Chan was placed, by the prince, over the ſecond diviſion. That general was ordered to reduce the country round Jionpour. The third diviſion Shaw Jehân, in perſon, commanded. He advanced, by very ſlow marches to Benaris, hearing complaints, deciding cauſes, and ſettling the government of the country, as he went. A. D. 1624. Hig. 1033.

Purvez advances toward him.

Fortune hitherto favoured the arms of the rebellious prince. Purvez with Mohâbet Chan had purſued the fugitives, from the affair at the Nirbidda, into the heart of Golconda. At Hydrabad they gave over the purſuit; and began to employ themſelves in reſettling the affairs of the Decan, which the rebellion of Shaw Jehân had very much deranged. The news of the loſs of the eaſtern provinces alarmed Mohâbet: Even Jehangire, who paſſed his time in voluptuouſneſs, with his favourite Noor-Mâhil, was rouzed from his lethargy. He diſpatched expreſs after expreſs to Purvez. The march of Shaw Jehân toward the capital, determined Mohâbet to endeavour to intercept him on his way. He marched with Purvez through Malava and Behâr. He croſſed the Jumna at Calpé, and the Ganges at Babere. The Imperial army came up with Deria, who commanded one of the three diviſions of the rebels, at Manicpour. He was inſtantly defeated; and he fell back to Benâris. Abdalla, at the ſame time, evacuated Allahabad, and joined Shaw Jehân. A council of war was called. Their deliberation was ſhort. They reſolved to give immediate battle to Purvez and Mohâbet.

Preparations for action.

The reſolution was ſcarce taken, when the Imperialiſts appeared in ſight. No time was to be loſt. Shaw Jehân drew up

 his

A. D. 1624.
Hig. 1603.

his army on the banks of a brook called Toniſh. Abdalla commanded the right wing; Naſir Chan the left; the prince himſelf took his poſt in the center. The advanced guards were commanded by Raja Bimè: and the whole field was marſhalled by Sujait Chan, who was at the head of the reſerve in the rear. The artillery, under the direction of Rumi was drawn up in one place before the center, inſtead of being diſpoſed properly along the line. The army of the rebels exceeded forty thouſand horſe: the Imperaliſts were more in number.

The army of Shaw Jehân

Mohâbet, in the mean time, was not idle. He formed in order of battle the army of Prince Purvez. His ſuperiority in point of numbers, enabled him to out-flank the enemy. The particulars of his diſpoſition are not related.---The action was begun by the artillery on the ſide of Shaw Jehân. But more than a thouſand ſhot were expended before one took place: the enemy being yet at too great a diſtance, Mohâbet would not permit his artillery to play, till he was ſure of doing execution. The cannonade continued near an hour. Some of Rumi's guns were diſmounted, his men were driven from others. Shaw Jehân immediately ordered his advanced guard to charge a body of the Imperialiſts, who were coming forward, with haſty ſtrides, to ſeize his artillery. The two advanced parties fought with great bravery. Thoſe of Shaw Jehân at length gave ground. Raja Bimè, who commanded them, preferred death to flight. He ſtood, with a few gallant friends, and was cut to pieces.

totally defeated.

Mohâbet, obſerving the defeat of the enemy's advanced guard, came forward briſkly, with his whole line; and fell, with great fury, on the center, where Shaw Jehân commanded in perſon. The ſhock was violent, but did not laſt. The prince was driven back from his guns, which were ſeized by Mohâbet. Sujait Chan,

who

who commanded the reſerve of the rebels, threw himſelf into the interval left by Shaw Jehân's retreat. He fought, for ſome time, with great bravery, and furniſhed the prince with an opportunity of rallying his broken ſquadrons. But Sujait was, in his turn, defeated; and driven back in great confuſion. Shaw Jehân advanced to the charge: but advice was brought him, that Naſir was defeated on the left; and that ſome of the enemy, who had paſſed his flanks, were ſeen advancing in his rear.

A. D. 1624. Hig. 1033.

The deſperate ſituation of the prince ſuggeſted to him a deſperate reſolution. He advanced as if he heard not the meſſenger, and plunged into the thickeſt of the enemy. He was followed by five hundred horſe. This ſmall body, devoting themſelves to death with their leader, were irreſiſtible. They effected more by deſpair than the whole army had done by courage. Mohâbet received a check, when he leaſt expected it. He began to retreat: but Shaw Jehân was not properly ſupported. His officers conſidered the battle as loſt, and refuſed to advance. Abdalla, who had hitherto maintained his ground on the right, received a meſſage from the prince. He returned for anſwer, that all hopes of victory were gone, and that the beſt retreat they could make, was now the only thing left them by fortune. The prince was enraged. He reſolved to die. His companions, ſeizing his horſe by the reins, forced him from the field. He fled not, but he was carried to the fort of Rhotas. The rich plunder of his camp ſaved him from being purſued.

His bravery.

Sultan Purvez and Mohâbet, having ſtopt for a few days to refreſh their army, after the fatigues of a long march and an obſtinate battle, took the route of Bengal. Shaw Jehân left his family in the fortreſs of Rhotas. He collected the remains of his defeated army. He marched to Patna, and prepared to defend that city. He, however,

He flies toward the Decan.

A. D. 1625. Hig. 1034.

ever, evacuated the place at the approach of his brother. He fled through Bengal. Purvez was close at his heels. Shaw Jehân took the route of the Decan, by the way of Cuttack. Bengal, Behâr and Orixa fell into the hands of Purvez. That prince and Mohâbet spent some time in resettling the government of the three provinces; and when the current of regulation and law was restored to its ancient channel, they marched after Shaw Jehân into the Decan, by the northern road.

Besieges Brampour.

Though Shaw Jehân's affairs were, to all appearance, ruined, he found resources in his own active mind. During the time that Purvez and Mohâbet remained in the recovered provinces, he found means to attach to his party the Raja of Ambere. By the junction of the Raja's forces, he found himself in a condition to sit down before the city of Brampour. He had reduced it to great distress, when the Imperial army, under Purvez and Mohâbet, arrived on the banks of the Nirbidda. He had not a force sufficient to oppose them: he raised the siege, and took shelter in the mountains of Ballagat. In his retreat he made an attempt on the castle of Hasser. This is a strong fortress on the frontiers of Chandeish. It stands upon the top of a mountain: it has springs of water, and of good soil a sufficiency to maintain with its produce four thousand men. As all access to the fortress is impracticable, he might have waited there for the change which time might make in his fortunes. He was repulsed.

His affairs ruined.

This latter piece of bad success completed the ruin of his party. His nobles first deserted him; and they were followed by the private soldiers. A thousand horse only remained. His spirits sunk within him; his misfortunes oppressed him; his guilt and folly were always present to his mind. Sickness was added to his other miseries. He was hunted, like a wild beast, from place to place.

place. All mankind were his enemies; and he was their foe. Where he thought he could not overcome, he fled: he spread devastation through places where he could prevail. He was, however, tired of rapine; worn down by contention and hostility. He wrote letters of compunction to his father. He enlarged on his own guilt; he even added, if possible, to his own wretchedness and misfortune. Jehangire was often full of affection; he was always weak. He was shocked at the miserable condition of a son, whom he once had loved. His tears fell upon the part of Shaw Jehân's letter which mentioned guilt; and his crimes vanished from memory.

A. D. 1625. Hig. 1034.

He is pardoned.

In the midst of this returning softness, Jehangire was not altogether void of policy. He wrote to his son, that if he would give orders to the governors of Rhotas, of Azere, and other places, which were still held out in his name, to deliver up their forts; and, send his three sons, Dara, Aurungzebe, and Murâd, to court, and at the same time accompany them, he would be forgiven for his past crimes. Shaw Jehân embraced the offer with joy. He delivered up the forts; he sent his children to Agra. He, however, found various pretences for not appearing in person at court. He alleged that he was ashamed to see a father whom he had so much injured; but he was actually afraid of the machinations of the favourite Sultana. He made excursions, under a pretence of pleasure, through all parts of the empire, attended by five hundred horse. He was sometimes heard of at Ajmere, sometimes at Tata on the Indus; and again, in the Decan.

Candahar lost to the empire.

In the rebellion of Shaw Jehân, we lost sight of the Persian invasion, under Shaw Abas. The sovereigns of Persia had long laid claim to the city of Candahar. They endeavoured often to

A. D. 1625. Hig. 1034.

obtain it by negociation, and often by force. They had failed in the firſt; and they were not ſucceſsful in the latter, till the civil diſtractions of India furniſhed them with an undiſturbed opportunity of beſieging the place. When the Perſian invaſion happened, Candahar was but ſlightly garriſoned. The place, however, held out with vigour, till Shaw Abbas appeared before it in perſon. It ſurrendered to that monarch; and the news of the misfortune met Ruſtum Suffavi at Lahore, as he was on his march to relieve the beſieged. The Perſians, after the capture of Candahar, retreated; and Jehangire, having occaſion for all his troops to quell domeſtic diſturbances, ſat ſilently down with the loſs.

Irruption of the Uſbecks.

Shaw Abas had ſcarce retreated, when the Uſbeck Tartars, encouraged by his ſucceſs and the civil diſſentions in Hindoſtan, invaded the province of Ghizni, and took ſeveral ſmall forts. When the news of this invaſion arrived at court, Chana-zâd, the ſon of Mohâbet, was ſent from Caſhmire, with ſome troops, to oppoſe the invaders. This young officer attacked them with vigour on all occaſions, and, in general, with great ſucceſs. They were, at length, after an obſtinate and bloody war, which continued nine months, driven out of the empire. The conqueror purſued the fugitives, and laid waſte a part of their country.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. V.

Mohâbet in favour—Accused of intended treason—Ordered to court—Machinations of his enemies—Indignities offered him—He resolves to seize the emperor—He takes him in his tent—Defeats the visier—Condemns the Sultana to death—But pardons her—Governs the empire—Attacked by the citizens of Cabul—He lays down his power—Obliged to fly—Sent against Shaw Jehân—Death of prince Purvez—His character—Death of Chan Chanan.

A. D. 1625. Hig. 1035. Mohâbet in high favour.

THE valour and abilities of Mohâbet, in conducting the war against Shaw Jehân, raised sentiments of gratitude in the breast of Jehangire. His son, Channa Zâd, had been lately gratified with the government of Cabul; and others, his relations and friends, were advanced to lucrative and honourable employments. The great victory near Benâris confirmed the emperor's high opinion of Mohâbet, and the news of that important event filled him with excessive joy. His grateful feelings for his general rose in proportion to the decrease of his fears for his throne. These sentiments, however, did not long continue. Mohâbet had a great many enemies: his sovereign had but little firmness. The abilities of the former had raised envy; and nature had given to the latter a disposition too easy and pliant, to be proof against misrepresentation. To explain the causes of an event which almost transferred the empire from the house of Timur to other hands, we must look back to some circumstances prior to this period.

A. D. 1625. Hig. 1035.

Accuſed of intended treaſon.

Chan Chanan, mentioned as the tutor of Purvez, in his government of Candeiſh, had, through ſome diſguſt, attached himſelf to the fortunes of Shaw Jehân, when that prince ſucceeded his brother in the command of the Imperial army in the Decan. It was by that lord's advice, that he cut off Chuſero: by his advice he rebelled againſt his father. He accompanied the prince in his expedition to Agra and Delhi; and, though he took no part in the fatigues of the field, he ruled in the cabinet. When the affairs of Shaw Jehân became deſperate, after his retreat to the Decan, he adviſed him to ſue for a pardon, through his brother Purvez. He himſelf undertook to be his meſſenger to Purvez, to whoſe temper and character he could have been no ſtranger. When he arrived in the Imperial camp, he found no diſpoſition in Mohâbet to relinquiſh by terms, the advantages which had been obtained by the ſword. Having failed in his endeavours for the prince, he applied for himſelf. Mohâbet was ſhocked at this reiteration of treachery; and he perſuaded Purvez to throw him and his family into priſon. The latter were ſent, under an eſcort, to Agra; he himſelf was detained, in cloſe confinement, in the camp, and his eſtate was confiſcated by an Imperial edict.

The grounds of the accuſation.

After the deciſive battle near Benâris, the province of Bengal, which had been reduced by Shaw Jehân, fell at once into the hands of the conquerors. Purvez, who had a commiſſion from his father to govern the eaſtern provinces, conferred the ſubaſhip of Bengal upon Mohâbet, who ſent his ſon Channa Zâd, lately arrived in the army, to manage his government in his own abſence. Dara the ſon of Chan Chanan, had been made ſuba of Bengal, by Shaw Jehân. That young lord was ſeized by the people, and delivered into the hands of Channa Zâd, as ſoon as he arrived at the capital of the province. He immediately ſent

Dara

Dara to his father; who, having informed the emperor of that circumstance, received orders to put him to death, as an obstinate rebel. Mohâbet obeyed, and sent the unfortunate suba's head to Agra.

A. D. 1625.
Hig. 1035.

His enemies at court.

Chan Chanan, though confined in the camp of Purvez, found means, by letters, to insinuate himself into the good graces of the Sultana, and her brother the visier. The two last had been long the enemies of Mohâbet; and the former imputed the death of his son to that lord, and was resolved to revenge the injury. He wrote to the Sultana: he sent letters to Asiph. He informed them that Mohâbet was forming designs to raise Purvez to the throne. This was carried to the emperor's ears. He ordered Chan Chanan to be released: and that Omrah, who remained with Purvez, accused Mohâbet, by letters to the emperor, of intended treason.

The emperor alarmed.

Jehangire, naturally suspicious, was alarmed. The spirit of jealousy and distrust took possession of his mind. He forgot the services of Mohâbet in his own fears. He ordered him to court; and raised Chan Jehân Lodi from the government of Guzerat to the command of the army under Purvez. Mohâbet, before the emperor's orders arrived, had set out with Purvez, for Bengal. He had been guilty of a neglect, which gave colour to the accusations of his enemies. The elephants taken in battle are Imperial property. These he had retained, together with the presents which his son Channa Zâd had received in resettling the province. A second peremptory order was sent to him. He was acquainted, that he was appointed to the subaship of Punjâb; but that the emperor deprived him of Lahore, which had been usually annexed to that government. He was thunderstruck at the sudden change in the emperor's mind. He resolved to obey. He went to take his leave of Purvez. The

 prince

A. D. 1625. Hig. 1035.

prince was cold and ſtately; and ſeemed to forget his friend in the diſpleaſure of his father.

Mohâbet commanded to court.

Senſible of his own abilities, conſcious of his honour, elevated by his reputation in war, Mohâbet was diſguſted, beyond meaſure, at this return for his ſervices. He reſolved to retire to his caſtle of Rintimpour: but an order arrived to deliver that fortreſs into the hands of one of the Sultana's creatures. This latter circumſtance confirmed what his friends at court had written to him before, that his life was in danger, ſhould he truſt himſelf in the Imperial preſence. He wrote to Jehangire. He expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at his diſpleaſure. He declared his perfect confidence in the honour of his prince; but he expreſſed his well-grounded diſtruſt of his adviſers. The letter produced nothing but an order for his immediate appearance at court. To refuſe was to rebel. He wrote again to the emperor. "I will," ſays he, "ſerve my ſovereign with my life againſt his enemies, but I will not expoſe it to the malice of his friends. Aſſure me of ſafety, and I will clear myſelf in the preſence." Jehangire, upon receiving this letter, was enraged. He diſpatched a courier, with his laſt commands for his appearance. He at length reſolved to obey. Five thouſand Rajaputs, in the Imperial pay, from an affection for their general, offered him their ſervice to conduct him to court. Eſcorted by theſe, he took the rout of Lahore, where the emperor, at the time, reſided.

He obeys.

On the eighteenth of April 1626, Jehangire ſet out from Lahore toward Cabul. News was brought to the Imperial camp that Mohâbet had ſent before him the elephants taken at the battle of Benâris; and that he himſelf followed, with a retinue of five thouſand Rajaputs. The Sultana and the viſier were ſtruck with a double terror. They were afraid of a reconciliation:

ciliation: they were afraid of his force. They perſuaded the emperor not to admit him into the camp. When, therefore, he arrived near the tents, he was ordered to ſtop, till he accounted for the revenues of Bengal, and the plunder taken at the battle of Benâris. Mohâbet was enraged: he diſpatched his ſon-in-law to the emperor, to complain of an indignity ſo unworthy of his fidelity and ſervices. He could not have choſen a worſe meſſenger. The emperor had been much offended with Mohâbet, for giving his daughter in marriage without his conſent; and he had resolved to be revenged. When, therefore, the young lord alighted from his elephant in the Imperial ſquare, he was ſuddenly ſeized; he was ſtript of his clothes, covered with rags, baſtinadoed, and ſent out of the camp riding backward on a ſorry jade, amid the ſhouts of the whole army. A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

The intelligence of this groſs affront came to Mohâbet, before the diſhonoured youth appeared. He bore it with ſeeming patience. He was ſhocked at the weakneſs of the emperor, which had yielded ſo much to the malice of a vindictive woman. He ſeparated, by degrees, his retinue from the camp. He found he could not truſt himſelf in the hands of his enemies; and he took at once a bold reſolution. The emperor was on his march to Cabul, and he reſolved to watch his motions. He hovered, during the night, round the ſkirts of the camp; and the morning preſented a favourable opportunity for the execution of his ſcheme. His meſſenger groſsly affronted.

When Mohâbet arrived, the Imperial army lay encamped on the banks of the Behat or Gelum, at the end of the bridge, on the high-road which led to Cabul. The advanced guard began to move over the bridge in the morning, and was gradually followed by the other troops. The emperor remained in the old camp. He ſurpriſes the emperor in his tent,

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

camp. He was not in an enemy's country, and he uſed no precautions. When the greateſt part of the army had paſſed, Mohâbet ſuddenly advanced with his faithful Rajaputs. He ſeized the bridge, and ſet it on fire; leaving two thouſand of his men under the command of his ſon, to defend the flames, and to ſtop the return of the enemy. Having made this diſpoſition, he rode with great ſpeed to the Imperial ſquare. He was firſt obſerved by the officers of the houſehold, paſſing by the haram in ſeeming diſorder. His countenance was pale, but determined. They were alarmed; and he ruſhed forward to the emperor's tent.

takes him

The writer of the Acbal Namma, who was then lord of the wardrobe, ſuſpecting that Mohâbet meant to aſſaſſinate the emperor, drew his ſword, and followed him with great ſpeed. The Omrahs in waiting did the ſame. When they had advanced to the Imperial tent, they found Mohâbet ſurrounded by five hundred Rajaputs on foot, ſtanding at the door, with ſwords by their ſides and pikes in their hands. The lords were immediately ſeized and diſarmed. The emperor, hearing the noiſe and confuſion without, cut his way through the ſcreens, and entered the bathing-tent, which was behind his ſleeping apartment. Mohâbet alighted and entered; not finding the emperor, he preſſed forward with forty Rajaputs, to the bathing-tent. Some of the Imperial guards ſtood at the door. The officer who commanded them, ſternly aſked Mohâbet, Why he preſumed to intrude on the emperor's privacy? He anſwered him, by putting his hand upon his ſword and frowning upon him, with a determined countenance. A panic ſeized the guards. They made way for him to paſs. In the outer apartment of the bathing-tent, ſtood many Omrahs of high rank. They drew their ſwords; but the Rajaputs ſurrounding them, they thought proper to deliver up their arms.

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

The news of this insult was carried to the emperor by some of the women who attended him in the inner tent. He seized his sword, and was about to assault Mohâbet, when he saw his guards and nobles disarmed. He dropt his point; and said, "What dost thou mean, Mohâbet Chan?" Mohâbet touching the ground and then his forehead with his hand, thus replied: "Forced by the machinations of my enemies, who plot against my life, I throw myself under the protection of my sovereign."—"You are safe,"—answered the emperor; "but what would these, who stand armed behind you?"—"They want full security," rejoined Mohâbet, "for me and my family; and without it, they will not retire." "—I understand you," said Jehangire: "name your terms, and they shall be granted. But you do me an injustice, Mohâbet; I did not plot against your life. I knew your services, though I was offended at your seeming disobedience to my commands. Be assured of my protection: I shall forget the conduct which necessity has imposed upon you."

prisoner,

Mohâbet, without naming his conditions, observed to the emperor, that it was now time to take his daily amusement of hunting. Without waiting for a reply, he ordered his own horse to be brought. Jehangire declined mounting him: Mohâbet seemed not to listen. "Then, Mohâbet Chan," said the emperor, "if still I have a horse of my own, I will mount him." One was brought him. They rode slowly away together, surrounded by the Rajaputs. When they had advanced beyond the skirts of the camp, Mohâbet observed to the emperor, That it would be prudent for him to mount an elephant, to avoid any accident that might happen in the confusion which was likely to ensue. Jehangire had now no will of his own. He mounted the elephant; and three Rajaputs, under a pretence of defending him, mounted by his side.

and carries him

The

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

to his own camp.

The emperor had ſcarce placed himſelf on the elephant, when Muckirrib Chan, one of the officers of ſtate, preſſing through the Rajaputs, climbed up the elephant's ſide, and ſat down by his ſovereign. He was threatened by the Rajaputs. He was obſtinate, and would not ſtir. One ſlightly cut him on the forehead with his ſabre; but he was not to be moved. They had now proceeded near a mile from the camp, when ſome of the officers of the houſehold, mounted upon elephants, came up, and placed themſelves on the road before the emperor. Mohâbet ordered them to clear the way: they refuſed, and were cut to pieces. He then continued his rout, without further obſtruction, to his own camp. The emperor was brought to his tent: and all ſpectators being removed, Mohâbet explained himſelf to him, proteſting, that he had formed no deſigns neither againſt his life nor his power. "But," concluded he ſternly, "I am determined to be ſafe."

Cuts off Sujait Chan.

Aſiph, the viſier, had croſſed the bridge in the morning with the Imperial army. The Sultana, when Mohâbet was buſy in ſecuring the perſon of the emperor, made her eſcape to her brother. He conſidered, that nothing was done, ſo long as that haughty woman remained out of his power. He reſolved to proſecute his plan, with the ſame reſolute boldneſs with which it was begun. He returned with the emperor to his former camp, on the bank of the Gelum. Sujait Chan, an Omrah of high reputation, had arrived that inſtant to join the Imperial army. He knew the ſituation of affairs; and loudly inveighed, in the preſence of the Rajaputs, againſt Mohâbet. That lord was at once enraged and alarmed. He ordered his troops to fall upon Sujait and his retinue, and every man of them was put to the ſword. The other Omrahs, who had hitherto hovered round,

round, ſtruck with the fate of Sujait, fled acroſs the river, and joined the Imperial army. A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

Noor-Jehân was the meſſenger of the diſaſter, which befel the emperor, to her brother Aſiph. He immediately called the Omrahs together: and the Sultana vehemently accuſed thoſe who had been left with Jehangire, of negligence and cowardice. A debate aroſe about the beſt method of reſcuing their ſovereign out of the hands of Mohâbet. The meaſure was full of peril; but it muſt be taken. They agreed to aſſemble their forces by the dawn of next morning; and to endeavour to repaſs the river againſt the rebel. The emperor was apprized of their intentions. He began to fear for his life. Repeated meſſages were ſent to the viſier to deſiſt from his purpoſe; but that miniſter did not think himſelf obliged to obey the commands of an impriſoned monarch, who was under the influence of the man who had ſeized his perſon. The viſier determines to reſcue the emperor;

Aſiph begun his march with day. When he came to the bridge, he found it burnt down. He reſolved to ford the river; but the water was ſo deep, that many were drowned. Thoſe who gained the further ſhore, had to fight the enemy at a manifeſt diſadvantage. They were cut off as faſt as they aſcended the bank. A ſucceſſion of victims came to the ſwords of the Rajaputs. The action continued for ſome hours. The rear of the Imperialiſts preſſing into the river, prevented the front from retreating. The Sultana was not a tame ſpectator on the occaſion. Mounted on an elephant, ſhe plunged into the ſtream with her daughter by her ſide. The young lady was wounded in the arm: but her mother preſſed forward. Three of her elephant-drivers were ſucceſſively killed; and the elephant received three wounds on the trunk. Noor-Jehân, in the mean time, emptied But is defeated

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

four quivers of arrows on the enemy. The Rajaputs preſſed into the ſtream to ſeize her; but the maſter of her houſehold, mounting the elephant, turned him away, and carried her out of the river, notwithſtanding her threats and commands.

with great ſlaughter,

Whilſt theſe things happen in the river, Fidai Chan and Abul Haſſen, with ſome other gallant nobles, forming a ſquadron of gentlemen in the rear of the Imperialiſts, plunged into the river and gained the oppoſite ſhore. The ſhock between them and the Rajaputs was violent. The latter gave way, and fled toward the tents of the prince Shariâr, where the emperor remained under a guard. They ſtopt, and the action became bloody. The arrows and ſhot piercing through the tents, the emperor was in imminent danger: but Muchlis Chan, who ſtood near him, covered him with ſhields. In the mean time, Mohâbet re-eſtabliſhed the ranks of the fugitives behind the tents. He turned them, and fell upon the flank of the Imperialiſts. Viſier Bec, Attalla, and ſeveral gallant lords were killed: Fidai was covered with wounds. The ſpirit of his followers began to ſink. Mohâbet preſſed hard upon them; and at length they fled. The field was covered with dead bodies; and a complete victory remained to the Rajaputs.

and taken priſoner.

The runaways, gaining the oppoſite ſide of the river, found their troops diminiſhed and completely ruined. They gave up all thoughts of further reſiſtance: each fled to his own home. The army, in the ſpace of a few hours, was diſſipated. Aſiph fled to his eſtate; and ſhut himſelf up, with five hundred men, in the caſtle of New Rhotas, on the Attoc. The Sultana found means to eſcape to Lahore. Mohâbet diſpatched a meſſenger to Aſiph, with aſſurances of ſafety, ſhould he return to the camp. The viſier would not truſt himſelf in his hands. Meer Berwir,

the

the ſon of Mohâbet, with a detachment beſieged the fort of Rhotas. Aſiph was ſoon reduced to diſtreſs; and, on the arrival of Mohâbet before the place, that lord, with his ſon Abu Talib, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Noor-Jehân had ſcarce returned to Lahore, when ſhe received letters from the emperor. He acquainted her, that he was treated with reſpect by Mohâbet; and that matters were amicably ſettled between them. He conjured her, therefore, as ſhe regarded his peace and ſafety, to lay aſide all thoughts of hoſtile preparations. He concluded, with commanding her to follow him to Cabul, whither, of his own free choice, he then directed his march. Noor-Jehân did not long heſitate. She ſet out from Lahore, and ſoon came up with her lord. When ſhe arrived, troops were ſent out by Mohâbet, by way of doing her honour. But they were her keepers, and not her guards. They ſurrounded her tent, and watched all her motions.

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035. The Sultana ſeized.

Mohâbet, who carried every thing before him in the preſence, accuſed her publicly of treaſon. He affimed, that ſhe had conſpired againſt the emperor, by eſtranging from him the hearts of his ſubjects: that the moſt cruel and unwarrantable actions had been done, by her capricious orders, in every corner of the empire: that her haughtineſs was the ſource of public calamities, her malignity the ruin of many individuals: that ſhe had even extended her views to the empire, by favouring the ſucceſſion of Shariâr to the throne, under whoſe feeble adminiſtration ſhe hoped to govern India at pleaſure. He therefore inſiſted that a public example ſhould be made of ſo wicked a woman; as a ſign to mankind, that crimes in the moſt exalted perſons ought to meet with no more favour, than iniquities in the mean and low. "You, who are emperor of the Moguls!" ſaid Mohâbet, addreſſing himſelf to Jehangire, "whom we look upon as ſomething more than

Condemned to death.

 human,

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

human, ought to follow the example of God, who has no reſpect for perſons."

Saved at the requeſt of the emperor.

Jehangire was too well acquainted with his ſituation to contradict Mohâbet. He owned the juſtice of the accuſation, and he ſigned a warrant for her death. Being excluded from his preſence, her charms had loſt their irreſiſtible influence over him; and when his paſſions did not thwart the natural bias of his mind, he was always juſt. The dreadful meſſage was delivered to the Sultana. She heard it without emotion. "Impriſoned ſovereigns," ſaid ſhe, "loſe their right to life with their freedom; but permit me for once to ſee the emperor, and to bathe with my tears the hand that has fixed the ſeal to the warrant of death." She was brought before her huſband, in the preſence of Mohâbet. Her beauty ſhone with additional luſtre through her ſorrow. She uttered not one word. Jehangire burſt into tears. "Will you not ſpare this woman, Mohâbet?" ſaid the emperor; "you ſee how ſhe weeps."—"The emperor of the Moguls," replied Mohâbet, "ſhould never aſk in vain." The guards retired from her, at a wave of his hand; and ſhe was reſtored that inſtant to her former attendants.

March to Cabul.

The friends of Mohâbet diſapproved of his generoſity, and he had cauſe to repent of it himſelf. The Sultana lived not to thank her forgiver, but to revenge herſelf. The Imperial camp moved to Cabul. Mohâbet, without appearing to command, directed every thing at court. The emperor implicitly followed his advice; and he even ſeemed to harbour no reſentment againſt him for the paſt. He had long known his abilities; he was now convinced of his integrity and generoſity. Naturally fond of indolence and pleaſure himſelf, he could not wiſh to have left the affairs of the ſtate in better hands. The attention paid him by

Mohâbet,

A. D. 1626.
Hig. 1035.

Mohâbet, eradicated every idea of bondage: and the weight which his edicts carried, from their preciſion and wiſdom, reconciled his ſituation to his pride, by the obedience which was paid to them over all the empire.

Deſigns of the Sultana againſt Mohâbet

Six months had paſſed in Cabul in an apparent harmony between the monarch and his miniſter. The buſy ſpirit of Noor-Jehân was, in the mean time, hatching miſchief. She concealed her ſchemes ſo effectually, that they eſcaped the penetrating eyes of Mohâbet. The emperor reſided in his palace at Cabul: the miniſter lay every night in the camp of his Rajaputs, without the walls. When he came one morning to pay his reſpects at court with his retinue, the citizens, at the inſtigation of the Sultana, attacked him from both ends of a narrow ſtreet. Some, poſted in windows on either ſide, fired upon him with muſquets. He turned back, and forced his way to his camp. He arrived among the Rajaputs unhurt: his followers were all either wounded or ſlain. The citizens did not reſt here. They fell upon the guards, which he had placed round the emperor; and put five hundred to the ſword.

defeated.

Mohâbet, enraged at the perfidy of the Cabulians, prepared to take ample revenge. He blocked up the city, with his army. The maſſacre within was diſcontinued. Fear ſucceeded to rage. The principal inhabitants, laying the whole blame upon the rabble, came out in the moſt ſuppliant manner to Mohâbet. Jehangire, who diſclaimed all knowledge of the tumult, interceded for them; and the enraged miniſter ſpared the city, after having puniſhed the moſt notorious ringleaders of the inſurgents. He, however, declared, that he would never enter the perfidious city of Cabul: he gave directions to the emperor to quit it the next

day,

A. D. 1626.
Hig. 1035.

day, and, having made the neceſſary preparations, the Imperial camp moved in a few days toward Lahore.

Mohâbet reſigns his power.

On the way to Lahore, Mohâbet took a ſudden reſolution to throw up his power. He had no intentions himſelf upon the empire; and he had triumphed over his enemies, and ſerved his friends. He exacted, and obtained from Jehangire, the moſt ſolemn promiſes of oblivion for the paſt; and he reſtored that prince to all his former conſequence and power. He promiſed to aſſiſt him with his advice; and to ſhew his ſincerity, he diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his guards and attendants. This conduct was noble; but he had gone too far to retreat. Gratitude is not ſo ſtrong a paſſion as revenge. The weak forget favours; but the haughty never forgive indignities. The Sultana kept freſh in her memory her diſgrace; ſhe remembered her danger from Mohâbet. She applied to Jehangire for his immediate death. She urged ſpecious arguments to ſtrengthen her requeſt. "A man," ſaid ſhe, "who is ſo daring as to ſeize the perſon of his ſovereign, is a dangerous ſubject. The luſtre of royalty muſt be diminiſhed, continued the Sultana, in the eyes of the people, whilſt he who pulled his prince from the throne, is permitted to kneel before it with feigned allegiance." Jehangire was ſhocked at her propoſal. He commanded her to be ſilent.

He is obliged to fly.

She was ſilent, but ſhe did not drop her deſign. She reſolved to take off by private treachery the man whom ſhe failed to bring to a public death. She contrived to place one of her eunuchs behind the curtain, with orders to ſhoot Mohâbet, when he ſhould next come to pay his reſpects in the preſence. Jehangire overheard her commands to the ſlave. He acquainted Mohâbet with the ſnare laid for his life; inſinuating that his power was not ſufficient to protect him from private treachery, though he was

reſolved

A. D. 1626.
Hig. 1035.

reſolved to ſave him from public diſgrace. Mohâbet was alarmed. He eſcaped from the camp. The army lay that day on the banks of the Gelum, in the very ſpot where the emperor had ſeven months before been ſeized. Mohâbet, after having the whole power of the empire in his hands, was obliged to fly from that very place, without a ſingle attendant. He carried nothing with him but his life: his wealth was left in the Imperial camp, and became the property of Noor-Jehân. His flight had ſcarce become public, when an edict was iſſued by the Sultana's procurement, to all the governors of provinces to make diligent ſearch for him. He was declared a rebel, and a reward was put upon his head.

His conference

Aſiph diſapproved of his ſiſter's violence. He knew the merit of Mohâbet: he was not forgetful of his kindneſs to himſelf, when under his power. He was tired, beſides, of the weakneſs of Jehangire, and of the Sultana's tyranny. He, however, obſerved a cautious ſilence. His power depended upon his ſiſter; and ſhe was haughty as well as vindictive. Mohâbet flew from place to place. He took, at firſt, the route of Tatta; but the unfortunate have enemies every where. The boldneſs, which had lately raiſed him to the ſummit of power, forſook him not in his diſtreſs. He mounted his horſe; and rode ſolitary near four hundred miles, to throw himſelf into the converſation of Aſiph. That miniſter, at the time, was in the Imperial camp at Karnal, on the road between Lahore and Delhi. Mohâbet, in a mean habit, entered the camp when it was dark; and about nine o'clock placed himſelf in the paſſage, which led from the apartments of Aſiph to the Haram. The eunuch, who ſtood at the door, queſtioned Mohâbet. He knew that lord by his voice; but he aſſured him of his fidelity. Mohâbet told him, that he wiſhed

to

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

to ſpeak to his lord on affairs of the laſt moment. The viſier came.

with Aſiph

When Aſiph ſaw the low condition into which he, who lately commanded the empire, was fallen, he could ſcarce refrain from tears. He took him in his arms: they retired in ſilence to a ſecret place. Mohâbet, after mentioning the ingratitude of Noor-Jehân, complained of the imbecillity of the emperor, and plainly told the viſier, that, low as he was reduced, he was determined to raiſe up another ſovereign in India. "Purvez," continued Mohâbet, "is a virtuous man, and my friend. But he is eaſy and pliant; and we muſt not change one weak prince for another. I know the merit of Shaw Jehân; I have fought againſt him; and when I conquered, I gained not a victory but my own life. He ſuits the times. He is ambitious, and ſometimes ſevere; but he will aggrandize the empire abroad, and add vigour and preciſion to the laws at home."—Aſiph was overjoyed at this declaration. He was connected in friendſhip as well as in affinity with Shaw Jehân. "You muſt go hence with ſpeed," ſaid Aſiph; "and I will endeavour to procure your pardon. The emperor, who is not averſe to you, will liſten to my requeſt; eſpecially as Shaw Jehân, with whom you alone are able to cope in the field, is in arms. I ſhall procure for you an army, which you ſhall uſe as the circumſtances of the time will demand."

in favour of Shaw Jehân.

The two Omrahs, having ſworn fidelity to one another, parted. Mohâbet, mounting his horſe, dived into the night: Aſiph went into the preſence. The emperor was much alarmed at the news from the Decan, that his rebellious ſon had collected an army. He regretted the loſs of Mohâbet, and Aſiph took that opportunity of ſuing for his pardon. The emperor, in the warmth of

A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035.

of his zeal against his son, ordered an edict of indemnity to be forthwith issued, which restored Mohâbet to his honours and estates. A commission was given him to command the army against Shaw Jehân; and the ceremony of giving thanks in the presence, was dispensed with in his favour, as he could not trust his life to the mercy of Noor-Jehân.

Death of Purvez.

An event, however, happened, which rendered these preparations against Shaw Jehân unnecessary. That prince desisted from his new enterprize without the interposition of force. When Mohâbet carried all before him at court, his friend and pupil, the prince Purvez, remained at the head of the army, and commanded all the eastern and southern provinces in great tranquillity. He took no notice of his father's confinement; and he used no means for his releasement. He knew that Mohâbet had no designs upon the empire; and he was rather pleased, with a check upon the emperor, which might prove an excuse to himself, from being bound by his commands. In the midst of the insensibility and tranquillity of Purvez, he was seized by an apoplexy, which carried him off in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

His character.

Sultan Purvez was one of those harmless men that pass without either envy or fame through life. Destitute of those violent passions which agitate the animated and ambitious, he was never completely happy, nor thoroughly miserable. Ease was his only comfort; toil his sole aversion. Though battles were gained in his name, he was rather an incumbrance to an army, than the spring which should move the whole. Without ambition to command, he thought it no indignity to obey. He approved of the counsel of others, without ever proposing his own. He was in short an useful engine in the hands of an able general. There was a kind of comity in his manner, which com-

A. D. 1626.
Hig. 1035.

manded respect, where he impressed no awe; and even men who knew his weakness, listened with attention to his commands. His constitution was feeble and lethargic; his life a perpetual slumber. Had he lived, he was destined for the throne; and, as he had no passions to gratify, the happiness or misery of his reign would depend on those whom chance might place around him. His death was regretted, more, perhaps, than that of an abler man might have been. He never committed injuries, and mankind gave him credit for benevolence. Mohâbet mourned him as a good-natured friend; Jehangire as a dutiful son. The contrast which the character of his brother presented, justified the sentiments of both.

Affairs at Court, and in the Decan.

When Mohâbet fled, Noor-Jehân governed the empire without controul. While yet he held the reins of government, he had sent orders to his son Channa-Zâd, Suba of Bengal, to send him the surplus of the revenues of that country. Twenty-two lacks, under an escort, were advanced as far as Delhi, when the flight of Mohâbet happened; and the same messenger, who brought the news of the treasure to the emperor, brought him also intelligence of the death of Purvez. Jehangire was affected, beyond measure, at the loss of his son: he never had disobeyed his commands, and his manner was naturally engaging and pleasing.—The command of the army devolved upon Chan Jehân Lodi. He was ordered to send his family to court as hostages for his faith.—An unexpected war furnished a field for the abilities of Lodi. The Nizam raised disturbances; but he was reduced, without battle, to terms.

Death of Chan Chanan.

Chan Chanan, who, after his release from confinement, had remained with Purvez in the camp, did not long survive that prince. He attained to the seventy-second year of his age; and, though in his latter days he was accused of treachery, he had

covered

covered the former part of his life with renown. He performed many memorable actions, under the emperor Akbar. He reduced the kingdom of Guzerat; he defeated with twenty thousand horse, an army of seventy thousand, under the confederate princes of the Decan. He was a scholar, as well as a soldier. He was the most learned man of his time: shrewd in politics, eloquent to a proverb. He translated the commentaries of the emperor Baber into the Persic, from the Mogul language. He understood the Arabic, the Pehlvi, and all the dialects of India. He was also a good poet, and many of his pieces have come down to our time. In abilities he yielded not to his father, the famous Byram; though he possessed not his integrity and unsullied virtue.

A. D. 1626.
Hig. 1035.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. VI.

Schemes of Mohâbet and Asiph—Death of the emperor—His character—Anecdotes of his private life—His religion—His violence—Severe justice—and humanity—The son of prince Chusero raised to the throne—Defeat of Shariâr—Shaw Jehân marches from the Decan—Young emperor deposed, and murdered—Children of Jehangire—State of Persia.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037. Schemes of Mohâbet.

MOHABET, after his conference with Asiph, made the best of his way to the dominions of the Rana. He had been recommended by letters from the visier, to that prince; and he was received with extraordinary marks of distinction. A circumstance, omitted in its place, will contribute to throw light on the sequel. A correspondence, by writing, between Mohâbet and Asiph would be a measure full of peril to both. They had resolved to seize upon the accidents that might arise in the course of time, for the service of Shaw Jehân. The visier was to be the judge, as having the best access to know the period fit for their purpose, from his residence at court and intimate knowledge of its affairs. Mohâbet left a ring in his hands, which, when it should be sent, was the signal for him to espouse openly the interests of the prince.

Death of the emperor.

The edict of indemnity to Mohâbet had scarce been promulgated, when that lord understood from court, that the emperor began

began to decline visibly in his health. The prospect of his approaching dissolution rendered it unnecessary to wrest from him by force a scepter which he was soon to resign to death. Mohâbet remained quiet with the Rana; who, holding a friendly correspondence with Shaw Jehân, took an opportunity of informing that prince, that his noble guest was no enemy to his cause.—Jehangire had, for seven years, been troubled with a slight asthma. His disorder increased toward the end of the preceding year; and he resolved to make a progress to Cashmire, for the benefit of the air. The autumn proved very severe in that elevated country. He was seized with a violent cold, which fell upon his lungs. The sharpness and purity of the air rendered his breathing difficult. He complained of a kind of suffocation; and became impatient under his disorder. He commanded the camp to move, with slow marches, toward Lahore. He was carried in a litter as far as the town of Mutti, which stands about half way on the road from Cashmire. At Mutti his difficulty of breathing increased. He was growing worse every day, and the army halted. On the ninth of November of the year 1627 he expired; having lived fifty-eight and reigned twenty-two lunar years and eight months.

A. D. 1627.
Hig. 1037.

Oct. 27th.

Jehangire was neither vicious nor virtuous in the extreme. His bad actions proceeded from passion; and his good frequently from whim. Violent in his measures without cruelty, merciful without feeling, proud without dignity, and generous without acquiring friends. A slave to his pleasures, yet a lover of business; destitute of all religion, yet full of superstition and vain fears. Firm in nothing but in the invariable rigour of his justice, he was changeable in his opinions, and often the dupe of those whom he despised. Sometimes calm, winning, and benevolent, he gained the affections of those who knew him not; at other times,

His character.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

times, morose, captious, reserved, he became terrible to those in whom he most confided. In public, he was familiar, complaisant, and easy to all; he made no distinction between high and low; he heard, with patience, the complaints of the meanest of his subjects; and greatness was never a security against his justice: in private, he was thoughtful, cold, and silent; and he often clothed his countenance with such terror, that Asiph Jâh frequently fled from his presence, and the Sultana, in the plenitude of her influence over him, was known to approach him on trembling knees. His affection for his children bordered on weakness. He was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours. In war he had no abilities; he was fond of peace and tranquillity; and rather a lover than an encourager of the arts of civil life. Naturally averse to tyranny and oppression, property was secure under his administration: he had no avarice himself to render him unjust, and he was the determined and implacable enemy of extortion in others. He was a man of science and of literary abilities; and the memoirs of his life, which he penned himself, do him more honour as a good writer, than the matter, as a great monarch. Upon the whole, Jehangire, though not a faultless man, was far from being a bad prince: he had an inclination to be virtuous, and his errors proceeded from a defect more than from a depravity of soul: His mother was thought to have introduced a tincture of madness into his blood; and an immoderate use of wine and opium rendered sometimes frantic a mind naturally inflamed.

His private life and opinions.

Though Jehangire was often serious and distant among his domestics, he was fond of throwing off the character of the emperor, and of enjoying freely the conversation of his subjects. He often disappeared in the evening from the palace, and dived into obscure punch-houses, to pass some hours in drinking and talking with the lower sort. He had no enemies, and he was under no

apprehensions

apprehensions concerning the safety of his person. Being in the hall of audience, accessible to all ranks of men, after the performance of the usual ceremonies, he was often known in his nocturnal excursions. But the people loved his familiar openness, and did not by rudeness abuse the trust reposed in them by their prince. He often desired his companions at the bowl to ask no favours of him, lest SELIM, in his cups, might promise what JEHANGIRE, in his sober senses, would not chuse to perform. When the liquor began to inflame him, he was rather mad than intoxicated. He flew from one extreme of passion to another; this moment joyful, the next melancholy and drowned in tears. When in this situation, he was fond of arguing upon abstruse subjects. Religion was his favourite topic. He sometimes praised the Mahommedan faith, sometimes that of the Christians; he was now a follower of Zoroaster, and now of Brahma. In the midst of these devout professions, he would, sometimes, as starting from a dream, exclaim, That the prophets of all nations were impostors; and that he himself, should his indolence permit him, could form a better system of religion than any they had imposed on the world. When he was sober, he was divested of every idea of religion, having been brought up a Deist under the tuition of his father Akbar.

A. D. 1627.
Hig. 1637.

Scheme of establishing a new faith.

The variety of opinions, on the subject of religion, which prevailed in India, occasioned great uneasiness both to Jehangire and his father Akbar. The tenets of Mahommedanism, which the family of Timur had brought along with them into their conquests, were the religion established by law; but the majority of their subjects were of different persuasions. The followers of the Brahmin faith were the most numerous, and the next were the Persian Guebres, who worshipped the element of Fire, as the best representative of God. The Christians of Europe and of Armenia

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

menia poſſeſſed ſeveral factories in the principal cities and ports, and they wandered in purſuit of commerce over all the empire. The different opinions among all theſe ſects, on a ſubject which mankind reckon of the laſt importance, were the ſource of diſputes, animoſities, and quarrels. Akbar was chagrined. He tolerated every religion; he admitted men of all perſuaſions into his confidence and ſervice; and he had formed ſerious thoughts of promulgating a new faith, which might reconcile the minds of all his ſubjects. He eſteemed himſelf as equal in abilities to Mahommed, and he had more power to enforce his doctrine. But, foreſeeing the diſtractions which this arduous meaſure might occaſion, he dropt his deſign; and, inſtead of eſtabliſhing a new faith, contented himſelf with giving no credit to any of the old ſyſtems of religion. Jehangire in his youth had imbibed his father's principles. He began to write a new code of divine law; but he had neither the auſterity nor the abilities of a prophet. He ſhewed more wiſdom in relinquiſhing, than in forming ſuch a viſionary ſcheme.

His violence.

Jehangire was ſubject to violent paſſions upon many occaſions. Complaints againſt his nobles, and even againſt his favourite ſons, were received with an eagerneſs, and a rage againſt the offenders, more eaſily imagined than deſcribed. When his mind was heated with a relation of oppreſſion, he often burſt out into a loud exclamation, "Who in my empire has dared to do this wrong?" His violence flew before the accuſation; and to name any perſon to him, was to convince him of his guilt. Shaw Jehân had been known, when in the greateſt favour, to have come trembling before his father, at the accuſation of the meaneſt ſubject; and the whole miniſtry, and the ſervants of the court, frequently ſtood abaſhed, pale, diſtant, and in terror for themſelves, when a poor man in rags was relating his grievances to the emperor.

His

His exceſſive ſeverity in the execution of impartial juſtice, was the great line which marks the features of the character of Jehangire. He had no reſpect of perſons, when he animadverted upon crimes. His former favour was obliterated at once by guilt; and he perſevered, with undeviating rigour, to revenge upon the great, the injuries done to the low. The ſtory of Seif Alla remains as a monument of his ſavage juſtice. The ſiſter of the favourite Sultana had a ſon by her huſband Ibrahim, the Suba of Bengal, who, from his tender years, had been brought up at court by the empreſs, who having no ſons by Jehangire, adopted Seif Alla for her own. The emperor was fond of the boy; he even often ſeated him upon his throne. At twelve years of age Alla returned to his father in Bengal. Jehangire gave him a letter to the Suba, with orders to appoint him governor of Burdwan. Alla, after having reſided in his government ſome years, had the misfortune, when he was one day riding on an elephant through the ſtreet, to tread by accident a child to death. The parents of the child followed Alla to his houſe. They loudly demanded an exemplary puniſhment on the driver; and the governor, conſidering it an accident, refuſed their requeſt, and ordered them to be driven away from his door. They abuſed him in very opprobrious terms; and Alla, proud of his rank and family, expelled them from the diſtrict of Burdwan.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

An inſtance of his ſeverity

Jehangire reſiding, at that time, in the city of Lahore, they found their way, after a long journey on foot, to the preſence. They called aloud for juſtice; and the emperor wrote a letter to Alla with his own hand, with peremptory orders to reſtore to the injured parents of the child their poſſeſſions, and to make them ample amends for their loſs and the fatigue of their journey. The pride of Alla was hurt, at the victory obtained over him; and inſtead of obeying the orders of his prince, he threw them into priſon, till

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

till they made submissions to him for their conduct. But as soon as they were released, they travelled again to Lahore. Alla was alarmed, and wrote letters to the Sultana and Asiph Jâh, to prevent the petitioners from being admitted into the presence. They hovered to no effect, for some months, about the palace. They could not even come within hearing of the emperor, till one day, that he was taking his pleasure in a barge upon the river. They pressed forward through the crowd; and thrice called out aloud for justice. The emperor heard them, and he recollected their persons. He ordered the barge to be rowed, that instant, to the bank; and, before he inquired into the nature of their complaint, he wrote an order for them to receive a pension for life, from the Imperial treasury. When they had explained their grievances, he said not a word, but he commanded Alla to appear immediately at court.

in the execution of justice.

Alla obeyed the Imperial command; but he knew not the intentions of Jehangire, which that prince had locked up in his own breast. The youth encamped with his retinue, the night of his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river; and sent a messenger to announce his coming to the emperor. Jehangire gave orders for one of his elephants of state to be ready, by the dawn of day; and he at the same time directed the parents of the child to attend. He himself was up before it was light, and having crossed the river, he came to the camp of Alla, and commanded him to be bound. The parents were mounted upon the elephant; and the emperor ordered the driver to tread the unfortunate young man to death. But the driver, afraid of the resentment of the Sultana, passed over him several times, without giving the elephant the necessary directions. The emperor, however, by his threats obliged him at last to execute his orders. He retired home in silence; and issued out his com-

mands

mands to bury Alla with great pomp and magnificence, and that the court ſhould go into mourning for him for the ſpace of two moons.—"I loved him;" ſaid Jehangire, "but juſtice, like neceſſity, ſhould bind monarchs." A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

The ſevere juſtice of Jehangire eſtabliſhed tranquillity through all his dominions, when they were not diſturbed by the ambition of his ſons. The Subas of provinces avoided oppreſſion, as the poor had a determined avenger of their wrongs, in their ſovereign. He upon every occaſion affected the converſation of the lower ſort. They had immediate acceſs to his perſon; and he only ſeemed pleaſed, when he was humbling the pride of his nobles, upon the juſt complaints of the vulgar. He boaſted of his humanity, as well as of his juſtice. He had uſed to ſay, That a monarch ſhould even feel for the beaſts of the field; and that the birds of heaven ought to receive their due at the foot of the throne. Of his humanity.

As ſoon as Jehangire expired, Aſiph, at the head of the Imperial retinue, proceeded with the body to Lahore. When he arrived on the banks of the Gelum, he diſpatched a Hindoo named Narſi, with the ring to Mohâbet, as the ſignal for that lord to eſpouſe the cauſe of Shaw Jehân. The will of Jehangire had been opened immediately upon his demiſe. He had, at the inſtigation of the Sultana, named his fourth ſon Shariâr, as his ſucceſſor in the throne; but that prince had, ſome weeks before, ſet out for Lahore. When the news of the death of Jehangire arrived at that city, the prince ſeized upon the Imperial treaſure, and encouraged the troops to join him, by ample donations. The viſier was alarmed. To gain time for the execution of his deſigns in favour of Shaw Jehân, he proclaimed Dawir Buxſh, the ſon of prince Chuſero, emperor of the Moguls. His Dawir Buxſh raiſed to the throne.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

sister disapproved of this measure; and endeavoured to raise a party in the camp in favour of Shariâr: but he put an end to her schemes, by confining her to her tent; and gave strict orders, that none should be admitted into her presence.

Shariâr defeated, taken and blinded.

Shariâr, by means of the Imperial treasure, collected together a considerable force. Being ill of a venereal disorder himself, he appointed Baicsâr, the son of his uncle, the prince Daniâl, to command his army. The troops of Asiph were inferior in number to those of Shariâr; but they were, in some measure, disciplined, and inured to the field. Shariâr had crossed the Gelum before the arrival of Asiph; who drew up his forces upon the first appearance of the enemy. It was rather a flight than a battle. The raw troops of Shariâr gave way, before they came to blows. He was not himself in the action: he stood on a distant hill, and fell in into the current of retreat. He shut himself up in the citadel of Lahore; which was invested the next day by the army of Asiph. The friends of Shariâr deserted him; and made terms for themselves. The unfortunate prince hid himself in a cellar within the haram. He was found, and dragged to the light by Ferose Chan; and Alliverdi bound his hands with his girdle, and brought him to Dawir Buxsh. He was ordered to be confined; and the second day he was deprived of sight.

March of Shaw Jehân.

Narsi, the messenger of Asiph, arrived with the ring, after a journey of three weeks, at Chibîr on the borders of Golconda, where Mohâbet, at the time, resided, with Shaw Jehân. He informed the prince of the death of Jehangire; and acquainted Mohâbet of the plan, formed by the visier, to secure the throne for the former; and that Dawir Buxsh was only raised, as a temporary bulwark against the designs of the Sultana, and to appease the people, who were averse to Shariâr. Shaw Jehân, by the

 advice

advice of Mohâbet, began his march through Guzerat. Two officers were ſent with letters to the vizier; and Nîſhar Chan was diſpatched with preſents to Lodi, who commanded the army in the Decan.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

Lodi was always averſe to the intereſts of Shaw Jehân. He was proud and paſſionate; of high birth, and reputation in war. Deriving his blood from the Imperial family of Lodi, he even had views on the empire. Many of his nation ſerved under him in the army; and confiding in their attachment, he looked with ſecret pleaſure upon the conteſts for the throne, which were likely to ariſe in the family of Timur. He had detached a part of his army to ſeize Malava, and all the Imperial territories bordering upon that province. The meſſenger of Shaw Jehân was received with coldneſs. The anſwer given him was undeciſive and evaſive; and he was diſmiſſed without any marks either of reſentment or favour. Lodi did not ſee clearly before him; and he was reſolved to take advantage of events as they ſhould happen to riſe.

Suſpicious conduct of Lodi.

Shaw Jehân having, as already mentioned, taken the rout of Guzerat, received the ſubmiſſion of that province. Seif Chan, who commanded for the empire, being ſick, was taken in his bed; but his life was ſpared at the interceſſion of his wife, who was the particular favourite of the ſiſter of the prince. Having remained ſeven days at Ahmedabâd, news arrived of the victory of the viſier over Shariâr. Chidmud-Periſt was diſpatched to the conqueror with letters. They contained expreſſions of the deepeſt gratitude to the miniſter; but he, at the ſame time, intimated, that diſſention could not ceaſe but with the life of the ſons of Chuſero and Daniâl.—The temporary emperor, Dawir Buxſh, had been dethroned and impriſoned three days before the arrival of Shaw Jehân's

Dawir Buxſh depoſed and murdered.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

Jehân's meſſenger at Lahore. His brother Gurſhaſp, and Baieſâr and Hoſhung, the ſons of Daniâl, had been alſo confined. To ſhow his attachment to Shaw Jehân, the viſier delivered the keys of the priſon to Periſt; and that chief, to gain his maſter's favour, ſtrangled the three princes that very night. Aſiph made no enquiry concerning their deaths. He marched the next day toward Agra, having proclaimed Shaw Jehân emperor of the Moguls.

Shaw Jehân arrives at Agra.

Shaw Jehân arriving at Ajmere, was joined, in that city, by the Rana and his ſon. They were dignified with titles; and ſeveral Omrahs were raiſed to higher ranks of nobility. The government of Ajmere, with many rich eſtates, were conferred upon Mohâbet; and the emperor, for Shaw Jehân had aſſumed that title, marched toward Agra, and pitched his camp in ſight of that capital, on the 31ſt of January 1628, in the garden which from its beauty was called the Habitation of Light. Caſſim, the governor of Agra, came with the keys, and touched the ground with his forehead before the emperor; who entered the city the next day, amid the acclamations of the populace. They forgot his crimes in his ſplendour; and recognized the right to the throne, which murder had procured.

Jehangire's children.

Seven children were born to the emperor Jehangire: five ſons and two daughters. The firſt were Chuſero, Purvez, Churrum, Jehandâr, and Shariâr; the daughters were Sultana Niſſa, and Sultana Bâr Banu. Chuſero, Purvez and Jehandâr died before their father: Shariâr fell a victim to his brother's jealouſy; and Churrum, under the name of Shaw Jehân, ſucceeded to the empire. The prince Chuſero left two ſons, Dawir Buxſh and Gurſhaſp: the firſt had obtained the name of emperor; they were both murdered, as has been already mentioned, at Lahore. The chil-

dren of Purvez were a ſon and a daughter: the firſt, by dying a natural death ſoon after his father, prevented the dagger of Shaw Jehân from committing another murder; and the latter became afterwards the wife of Dara, the eldeſt ſon of Shaw Jehân.—The two ſons of Daniâl, Baiſſâr and Hoſhung, had been confined during the reign of their uncle Jehangire. Strangers to the world, and deſtitute of experience, their nerves were relaxed by inactivity, and their minds broken by adverſity. This ſtate of debility did not ſecure them from the jealouſy of the new emperor, by whoſe commands they were ſtrangled at Lahore. The emperor, either by the dagger or bowſtring, diſpatched all the males of the houſe of Timur; ſo that he himſelf and his children only remained of the poſterity of Baber, who conquered India. A. D. 1628. Hig. 1037.

The ſtate of Perſia ſuffered no change during the reign of the emperor Jehangire in Hindoſtan. Shaw Abas, ſirnamed the Great, who was in his twentieth year on the throne of the family of Seiſi at the death of Akbar, outlived Jehangire. He covered with ſplendid exploits, and a rigorous adherence to juſtice, the natural ſeverity and even cruelty of his character; and acquired the reputation of a great, though not of an amiable prince. The Uſbec Tartars of Great Bucharia, who had made encroachments on the Perſian dominions during the interrupted reigns of the immediate predeceſſors of Abas, loſt much of their conſequence in the time of that victorious prince. Domeſtic troubles and diſputes about the ſucceſſion converted the weſtern Tartary into a ſcene of blood; and offered an object of ambition to Abas. He invaded Choraſſan; he beſieged the capital Balick, but he was obliged to retreat, by the activity and valour of Baki, who had poſſeſſed himſelf, after various viciſſitudes of fortune, of the throne of the Uſbecs. Baki, dying in the third year of his reign, State of Perſia and Uſbekian Tartary.

was

A. D. 1628. Hig. 1037. was ſucceeded by his brother Walli; who being expelled by his uncle, took refuge, with many of the nobles, in the court of Shaw Abas. The Perſian aſſiſted him with an army. He was ſucceſsful in many engagements, defeated his uncle's forces, and took the city of Bochara; but his fortune changed near Samarcand, and he fell in a battle, which he loſt. The views of Abas, on the weſtern dominions of the Uſbecs, which had formerly belonged to Perſia, fell with his ally Walli. Emam Kulli and his brother divided between them the empire; and, notwithſtanding the efforts of Abas, retained the dominion of the extenſive province of Choraſſan.

SHAW